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RHODES OF THE KNIGHTS

BY

BARON DE BELABRE

FRENCH CONSUL AT DOVER, OFFICER OF PUBLIC INSTRUCTION OF FRANCE
AND SOME YEARS CONSUL IN RHODES

WITH MAPS, INSCRIPTIONS, SHIELDS, AND
PHOTOGRAPHS BY THE AUTHOR

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY

MONSIEUR PAUL CAMBON

AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE TO THE COURT OF ST. JAMES

AND SOMETIME AMBASSADOR IN CONSTANTINOPLE

THIS WORK IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY HIS HUMBLE SERVANT

F. DE B.

PREFACE

ALTHOUGH numerous works have appeared on Rhodes, very little is said in them about the fortifications and palaces built by the Knights of St. John during their stay in the Island.

Bosio and Vertot stand out conspicuously amongst those who have made a study of this wonderful Order. The former of these writers tried in his *Historia della Sacra Religione e Illustrissima Militia di S. Giovanni Gerosolimitano*, 1594–1602, to record the doings of an Order to which he himself belonged. But he is far from impartial in his judgements, nor is he accurate in his descriptions, as we have ourselves been able to find out by a careful inspection of all existing buildings and fortifications.

As to Vertot, who is responsible for the well-known *Histoire des Chevaliers de St. Jean de Jérusalem*, published in 1726, the answer 'Mon siège est fait' which he gave to one who brought him fresh and important facts about the last siege of Rhodes, stamps him, in spite of Michaud's defence of the phrase, as an untrustworthy historian.

Several modern authors, among them Rottiers (1826), Guérin (1856), Berg (1862), Flandin (1867), and Biliotti (1881), either drew their facts from Bosio or Vertot, or successively copied one

another, each reproducing the mistakes of his predecessors. Some of them went so far as to invent where they could not discover or understand. Of these Rottiers is the only one who attempted to describe the glorious old buildings of the Order. He published an atlas of sketches: but both description and sketches are untrustworthy, and even ridiculous. Mr. Cecil Torr, who in 1887 published his *Rhodes in Modern Times*, has gone into his subject more thoroughly; but his book, which deals mostly with the social and religious life of the Knights, is nothing but a careful compilation. Although the book is interesting one feels in reading it that its author, in treating of Rhodes, has not been on the spot, and knows little of its buildings. His information, however, is most precise, and we have made much use of it in the following pages.

Picenardi's *Itinéraire d'un Chevalier de St. Jean de Jérusalem* has appeared since. It is, in fact, the latest book published on the Rhodes of the Knights. We read it in 1900, shortly after our arrival in the Island. We knew at the time very little of the history and the buildings of the Knights, yet we picked out through the two hundred pages of this book a number of mistakes, surprising in the case of one who belongs to the still existing order of the Knights of St. John, and who had visited Rhodes.

A residence of six years in the Island, a perusal of all books dealing with the Rhodes of the Knights, and also a careful study of all buildings and fortifications as they now stand, in some cases very little altered from what they were four centuries ago,

convinced us that there was yet a great deal to describe and to correct.

In order to fit ourselves for this task we obtained, through the courtesy of the Turkish Governor, and thanks to the French Embassy in Constantinople, an *Iradé*, or special permit, to view everything in detail. And this was no mean favour, for since the Turkish occupation, no one, except a very few visitors of great distinction, has been allowed inside military buildings or upon the ramparts. We shall not easily forget the wonderful fascination of wandering, book in hand, and in the company of a silent Turkish officer, through every nook and corner of these grand remains. Miles of fortifications stand exactly as they did when the Knights abandoned them in 1523. In some parts it is easy to trace, by the character of the repairs, the breaches made by the Ottoman guns in the walls that once were called the Ramparts of Christianity. It was at such points of the defences that the fight was the fiercest during the last glorious siege.

This work does not pretend to give a new history of the Order of St. John. Our only aim is to describe what Monuments of the Knights still exist in Rhodes, and to tell in what way they were connected with the social and military life of their builders.

Most of the illustrations which will be found in these pages are unique and have been taken from spots to which usually no one has access. We have also been at much pains in revising the map of the Town, and in noting the numerous coats of arms

and inscriptions inserted in the outer walls of the fortress. These are of historical value as they indicate most precisely the date of the erection or the repair of the parts they adorn.

Throughout our pages the term Order will mean the Order of St. John of Jerusalem. Its armorial bearings were *On a field gules a plain cross argent.*

We owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Francis Pierrepont Barnard, M.A., F.S.A., for the great trouble he has been at in revising this work.

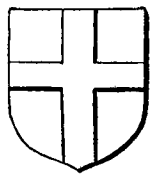

FIG. 1

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I

WHAT THE KNIGHTS WERE—THEIR ORGANIZATION—LIST OF THE RHODIAN GRAND MASTERS

THE Knights Hospitallers, or Knights of Saint John, were founded originally to tend the sick in the Holy Land and to rescue Christian prisoners from the Mussulmans. None but those of gentle birth were admitted into the Order, and they had to take the vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.

After being driven from Jerusalem, they conquered Rhodes in 1309, and were given the estates of the Knights Templars in 1312. Their character then became transformed, and the members of the Order, who were supposed to look after the poor and to fight in defence of the Catholic faith, soon forgot their vows and lived in great luxury, dressing magnificently, eating rare food from gold and silver plate, and giving nothing to the poor. They kept the finest of horses, hawks, and packs of hounds. They led a dissolute life, and many of the Knights had also large private means, so much so that on the representation of some of the Popes sumptuary laws had to be passed. Amongst these it was ordained that any Knight ordered to do so was to get rid of his concubine on forty days' notice.

It is true that they had for excuse the hardships and dangers of their calling. No one was sure of the morrow, and the perils on sea and land were so great that few lived beyond the age of forty.

Rhodes gained immensely by their coming. Law and order were established, and the enormous booty they brought to the Island, the shiploads of gold, silver, and precious goods, rapidly enriched the town and attracted thither so large a community of foreigners and merchants that soon every country of the West was represented. The Greeks naturally were in the majority, and their language was mostly spoken; but as the Order was mainly French, fourteen out of the nineteen Rhodian Grand Masters belonging to France, French also was very common. But other European languages were in use, and these various tongues corrupted one another, with the result that no one spoke his own correctly.

The Knights, under pretence of religion, were ever ready to enrich themselves at the expense of the unbeliever. The Island was a refuge not only for debtors, but also for pirates. The Order encouraged piracy on Turkish ships to make up for any deficiency in its income. One-tenth of all prisoners brought in by pirates was the perquisite of the Order, who had also the right to buy the rest if they chose. Wealthy Turks were kept in miserable slavery, and forced to work at the fortifications as long as they

FIG. 2. Shields of Grand Masters Amboise, Carretto, de Milly, de Lastic, of the Tongue of France, and of a French Grand Hospitaller, collected by the author.

could endure the labour, in order to extract from them the biggest possible ransom.

At first the Knights themselves, when on an expedition with their own galleys, made no prisoners. Those taken were immediately killed, or sometimes impaled, irrespective of age or sex. It is true that the Turks retaliated by dispatching in the same way any Knights that fell into their hands. In the annals of the Order are terrible tales of wholesale murder. In 1320, for instance, 6,200 prisoners, brought to Rhodes, were butchered

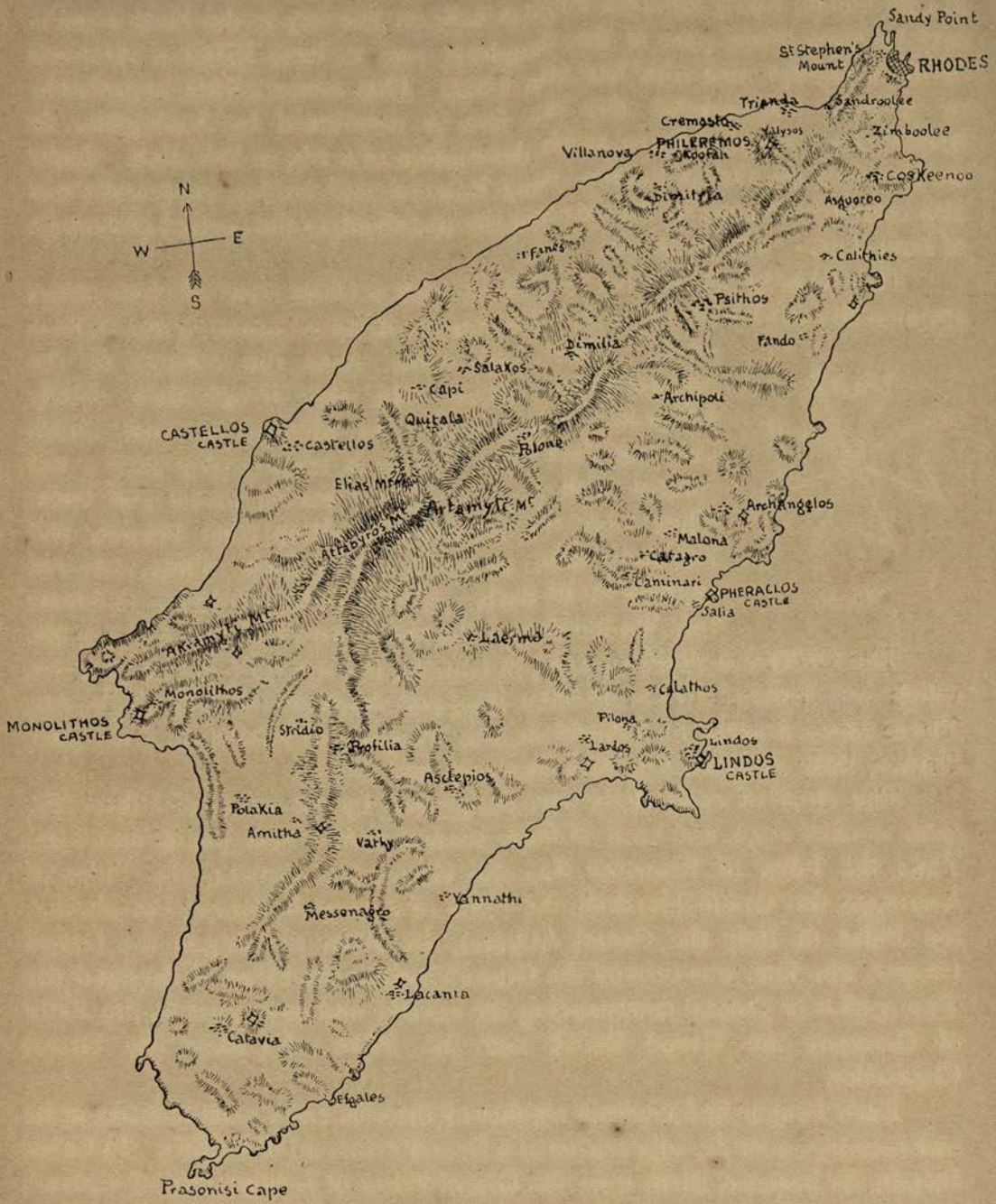

FIG. 3. Map of the Island of Rhodes at the time of the Knights.

in cold blood ; and a fanatical English lady on her way to the Holy Land is said to have taken part in the slaughter, and to have killed a thousand of these hapless men with her own hand. This seems a little improbable, or at least exaggerated, but the fact is mentioned by Ludolphus de Sudenheim, a contemporary, in his description of a trip to Palestine. Later on, however, the Order became more humane, and trading intercourse was also established between Rhodes and the mainland, to the mutual advantage of both Turks and Christians.

The Knights' civil dress was black with a white cross of eight points sewn on the left breast (Fig. 4). This cross was later known as the Maltese cross. Black and white were the colours of the Augustinians, whose rule the Hospitallers chiefly followed. They were also allowed to wear bluish grey and dark blue. When in armour they wore a red surcoat with a plain white cross on breast and back. They were not supposed to drink after supper, and had to be silent at meals and in bed. They were not to sleep in the dark. All had to keep a horse, and none but dignitaries and the sick were allowed to ride a mule.

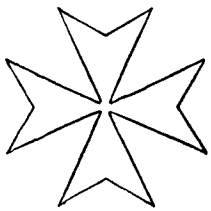

FIG. 4.

The Order was divided, when in Rhodes, into eight Bodies or *Tongues*, which were reduced to seven when England shook off the yoke of Popery. These were, in order of importance, the Tongues of Provence, Auvergne, France, Italy, Aragon, England, Germany, and Castile.

The chief of each Body was designated by the name of Pillar (Fr. *pilier* = chief stay), and each of these became vested with special functions. Thus the Pillar of Provence was the Grand Commander, the Pillar of Auvergne the Grand Marshall, the Pillar of France the Grand Hospitaller, the Pillar of Italy the Grand Admiral, the Pillar of Aragon the Grand Draper, who later was termed the Grand Curator, the Pillar of England the Turcopolier or general commanding the cavalry and coast-guards, the Pillar of Germany the Grand Bailiff, and the Pillar of Castile the Grand Chancellor.

Each Tongue had a certain number of Priories and Commanderies in its own country under the supervision of a Grand Prior and of Bailiffs. In Great Britain, for instance, there were the Grand Priors of London, and of Ireland, the former of whom, according to Godwin, had charge of fifty-five Commanderies, and the Grand Bailiff of l'Aigle, who ruled the Scottish houses.

The Grand Master of the whole Order was elected at a meeting of all the Pillars, Priors, and Bailiffs.

As we have said, the Knights were all of noble birth, and to qualify for admission had to prove their gentle descent in accordance with the requirements prevailing in their respective countries.

A list of the Grand Masters of the Order of St. John while in Rhodes, and a sketch of their arms, will be found useful as a reference when speaking of them in the following pages.

They are nineteen in number:—

I. *Foulques de Villaret*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected *circa* 1308; took Rhodes in 1310; was deposed by the Knights on account of his despotism; renounced the Grand-Mastership, and died in France on the 1st of September, 1327.

II. *Helion de Villeneuve*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected in 1319; died in Rhodes on the 27th of May, 1346.

III. *Dieudonné de Gozon*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected in 1346; died in Rhodes on the 7th of December, 1353.

IV. *Pierre de Corneillan*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected in 1353; died in Rhodes on the 24th of August, 1355.

V. *Roger de Pins*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected in 1355; died in Rhodes on the 27th of May, 1365.

VI. *Raymond de Berenger*, of the Tongue of Provence; elected in 1365; died in Rhodes in November, 1374.

VII. *Robert de Juillac*, of the Tongue of France; elected in 1374; died in Rhodes on the 11th of October, 1376.

VIII. *Juan de Heredia*, of the Tongue of Aragon; elected in 1376; died at Avignon in March, 1396.

IX. *Philibert de Naillac*, of the Tongue of France; elected in 1396; died in June, 1421.

X. *Antonio Fluvian*, of the Tongue of Aragon; elected in 1421; died in Rhodes on the 29th of October, 1437.

XI. *Jean de Lastic*, of the Tongue of Auvergne; elected in 1437; died on the 17th of August, 1454.

XII. *Jacques de Milly*, of the Tongue of Auvergne; elected in 1454; died in Rhodes on the 17th of August, 1461.

XIII. *Raymondo Zacosta*, of the Tongue of Aragon; elected in 1461; died in Rome on the 21st of February, 1467.

XIV. *Gian Baptista Orsini*, of the Tongue of Italy; elected in 1467; died in Rhodes on the 8th of June, 1476.

XV. *Pierre d'Aubusson*, of the Tongue of Auvergne; elected in 1476; Cardinal in 1489; died in Rhodes on the 3rd of July, 1503.

XVI. *Emery d'Amboise*, of the Tongue of France; elected in 1503; died in Rhodes on the 13th of November, 1512.

XVII. *Guy de Blanchefort*, of the Tongue of Auvergne; elected in 1512; died on board ship near Navarino on his way to France on the 24th of November, 1513.

XVIII. *Fabricio del Carretto*, of the Tongue of Italy; elected in 1513; died in Rhodes on the 10th of January, 1521.

XIX. *Philippe Villiers de l'Isle Adam*, of the Tongue of France; elected in 1521; left Rhodes with the Order on the 1st of January, 1523, and died in Malta on the 21st of August, 1534 (Fig. 5).

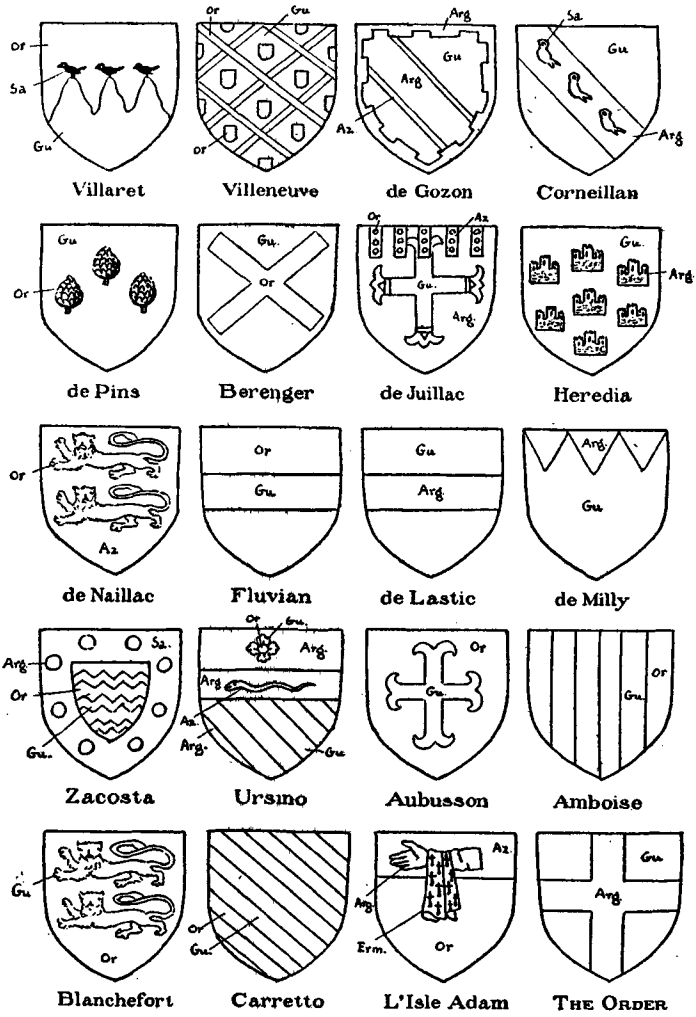

Fig. 5. The Shields of the Rhodian Grand Masters and of the Order. (The shields on this figure are not facsimiles of existing carvings, but are merely given for purposes of reference.)

II

THE FIRST WALLS—THE COLOSSUS—FORT ST. NICHOLAS

In the year 515 a violent earthquake devastated Rhodes for the third time. The island was then under the direct rule of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasios I, who sent to the sufferers provisions and money, and also helped them to rebuild their city. It was then that the area enclosed by the old Greek walls was reduced to its modern proportions.

According to the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi*, the English Crusaders who called at Rhodes in 1191 on their way to the Holy Land were much impressed by what remained of the Greek fortifications round the new town. These enclosed over a thousand acres, which at that time were still strewn with the ruins of many fine buildings, so that the Crusaders were able to compare the place to Rome. We know that as early as 1275 new walls were being built and the ditch excavated; and it is likely that the ruins of the Greek city were used up almost entirely for the new ramparts and the buildings within them.

Most of these new walls were shattered by another earthquake in 1304, but were hastily repaired before the Knights of St. John, led by their Grand Master Villaret, laid siege to the place in 1309. Rhodes surrendered on the 15th of August, 1309, and the rest of the island was finally rid of the Byzantines after a stand that lasted over three years.

The first care of Villaret was to put the city into a fit state of defence, and no doubt the foundations of the Byzantine walls were in many parts used for the new fortifications. These were hardly completed when in 1320 Rhodes was attacked by the Turks, who, however, were repulsed with great loss.

Some of the earliest walls are still standing in places. They can be recognized by their being built quite vertically, that is, without batter, whereas the later walls batter at the base, and generally have the usual cordon along the angle formed by the top of the batter.

Let us mention here that Rhodes sustained four sieges during the rule of the Knights. It was first attacked by the Turks in 1320, then by the Egyptians in 1444, then again by the Turks in 1480, and lastly by the same people in 1522. In this last siege, the city, garrisoned with only six hundred

FIG. 6. Ground Plan of the City of Rhodes in 1908.

Knights and a handful of soldiers, held out for nearly six months against the Turks, who numbered perhaps a quarter of a million.

As we intend to examine in these pages all that was erected in Rhodes by the Knights, in order to proceed methodically we shall begin with the outworks, then, going round the ramparts, we shall describe these in detail, and pass on to the town and its many buildings, making the old stones tell us what they have seen.

If we glance at our map of the town (Fig. 6) we notice that Fort St. Nicholas, the principal of the outworks, stands at the head of a jetty which forms one side of a small harbour called the Mandrakee or Dershanee. This harbour was used in the olden time for the Knights' smaller galleys (Fig. 7). It

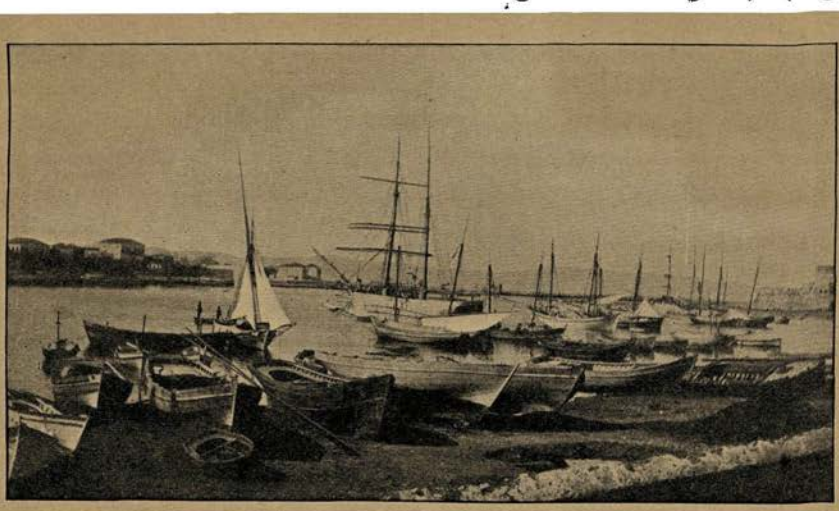

FIG. 7. The Mandrakee and Galley Harbour.

is closed in on the north-east side by a small pier or jetty which connects Fort St. Nicholas with the land and is supposed to have been made in the time of Grand Master de Gozon. The harbour is roughly oblong in shape, being about three hundred yards by two hundred. Biliotti asserts that it has a flag-stone bottom, but the truth of this is difficult to ascertain, as it is now filled up with sand and mud, so that only very shallow craft can make use of it.

Fort St. Nicholas (Fig. 8) was built on Greek foundations, which are still discernible in parts. There is little doubt in our mind that the famous Colossus stood on this site. Caoursin, Fontanus, and other writers, amongst them the English traveller William Lithgow, are of the same opinion. Lithgow, however, goes a little too far when he says that he saw it in 1611.

One strong reason for our belief is the fact that a building of a certain character nearly always replaces another of the same kind. For instance, churches have been built over the ruins of churches, a Pharos or lighthouse often stands where another stood previously. In the case of the Colossus, which was a kind of lighthouse, or at least a land-mark for navigators, it could not be placed in a more convenient spot, watching, as it were, the harbour-mouth. Later, the Byzantines had a pharos there; the Knights

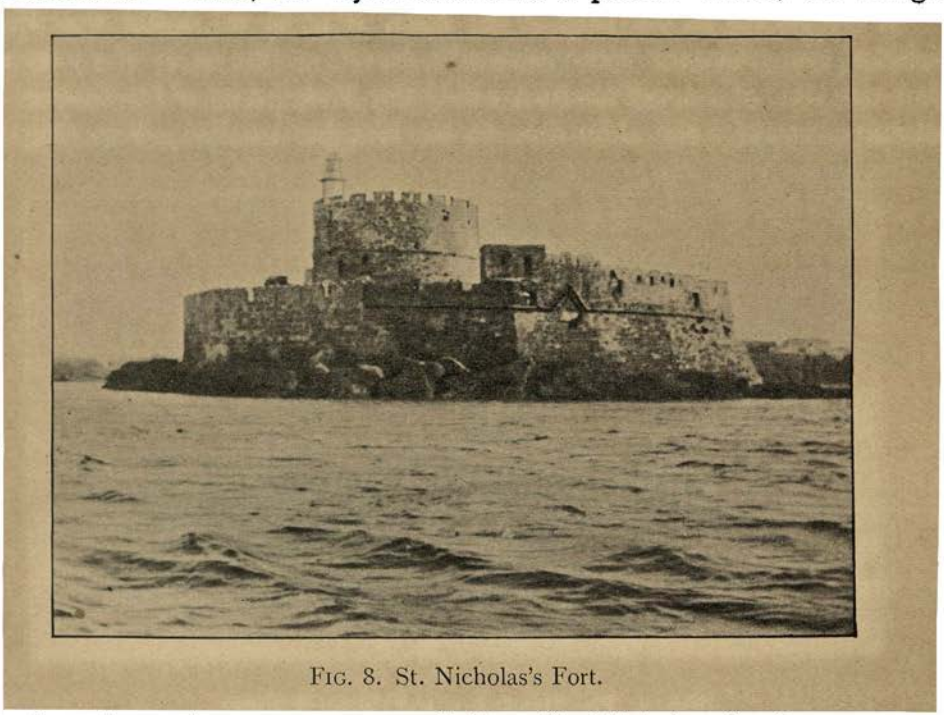

FIG. 8. St. Nicholas's Fort.

utilized at times the upper tower of Fort St. Nicholas in the same way; and a lighthouse is there now.

Pseudo-Philo, of Byzantium, states that the Colossus stood on a base of white marble which overtopped other statues. This has led some writers, and amongst them Mr. Torr, to believe that the great bronze image, which, by the by, attracted little notice in its day, stood in some public place, the Deigma for example, which might have been where the Gardens of Auvergne are now; not the gardens of Auvergne located by Rottiers, but the vast space inside the ramparts and close to St. Peter's Tower, called in Turkish Eivee Leeman. But it is most improbable that the shattered remains of a statue thrown down by an earthquake about 270 B.C. should have been left for over eight centuries lying in a public and frequented place. On the other hand, if the Colossus had fallen on the jetty connecting what we

believe to have been its site with the mainland—for the jetty already existed then—its broken remains, being outside the city and out of the way, may well have lain there forgotten.

But why, some would say, did not the great god happen to fall into the sea which surrounded three sides of its base? Because we know that the big statue which stood erect, and not astride according to the popular belief, looked out north-east towards the open sea with its back to the jetty. If we consider that its weakest point lay behind the knees, owing to the inward curve, it seems quite natural that the statue should have fallen backwards on to the jetty. Very probably when the vast mass fell and broke, some pieces rolled into the sea. It might, therefore, be worth while to search for fragments round Fort St. Nicholas and for a short distance along both sides of the jetty. A sucking dredger might be employed with advantage and at a comparatively small cost, to clear away the sand and mud, and if any *débris* of bronze were found, he would be a proud man who should thus prove the existence and the site of the Colossus.

As to the statues that were overtopped by its pedestal, it is probable that the big image of Apollo, who was the special god of Rhodes, did not stand by itself. There must have been a temple near by ornamented with statues, like many public buildings of that time. And it is curious to note that the Byzantines also had a chapel near the end of the jetty.

But we are rambling away from our description of Rhodes of the Knights, although it would be difficult to speak even of modern Rhodes without associating it with the Colossus.

We now return to St. Nicholas's Fort. Its strong circular keep is supposed to have been erected in 1464, on the site of an earlier one of Arab origin, by Grand Master Zacosta, who realized how valuable such a work would be to the line of fortifications. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, contributed to the expense of building this tower by sending a sum of twelve thousand gold crowns in memory of the splendid stand made there by a party of Burgundians, who held the old fort for the Knights against the Egyptians in 1444.

The money was paid through the Knight Jean d'Assaly, then Procurator of the Order of St. John in Flanders; therefore his shield was, with that of the Duke, placed on the face of the tower overlooking the sea, and also over the doorway by which one passes from the mole to the space between the curtain and the keep. Both the marble slabs bearing these shields are there now, but much worn by the spray which dashes over the whole fort in bad weather. That on the face of the keep shows four shields in a row,

the left-hand one larger than the others and supported by lions. Nothing is discernible on its field, and the supporters only show their main outlines; but we have no doubt that this bore the arms of the Duke. The next shield displays the plain cross of the Order; the third may be that of Zacosta; and the last is that of d'Assaly, the lion of which is discernible, although much worn. Round the large shield are traces of an inscription, and exactly over the slab is a broken representation of St. Nicholas. This was presumably taken out of a chapel dedicated to that saint, which we know to have been built on the mole shortly before 1497, probably on the site of the Byzantine chapel we have mentioned (Fig. 9).

The other slab, over the inner doorway, shows three shields. The one to the left is that of d'Assaly, and displays his *lion rampant on a field semy*

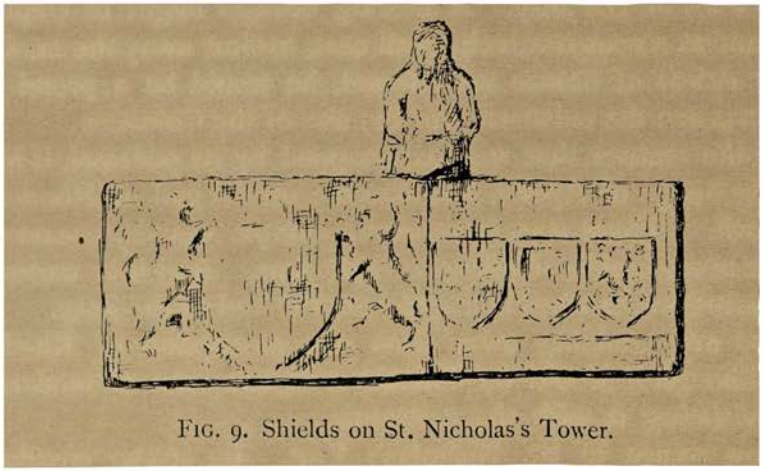

FIG. 9. Shields on St. Nicholas's Tower.

of estoiles. The centre one is that of the Order, and the right-hand one Zacosta's. Under the shields are two lines of Gothic inscription now illegible except where in one corner the date 1394 can be read quite plainly. This is rather puzzling, as Zacosta was Grand Master from 1461 to 1467. We much regret that the inscription is gone, as it would probably have given us the key to this mystery. It may have some reference to the building of the curtain that now encloses the keep.

The keep, or tower, was, during the siege of 1480, surrounded by a temporary line of defence, composed of mound, palisade, and ditch, hastily put up; but this was replaced by a permanent work in stone when the Turks had gone. It not only encircles the tower, but also encloses the small chapel on the mole and the old doorway we have just described. It is roughly circular in shape with obtuse angles at intervals. Its wall is very thick and rises to about half the height of the tower. Its base batters into

the sea. The entrance is through a small door on the south side and across a drawbridge. Above this door and on the north side of the wall is the shield of Grand Master d'Aubusson side by side with that of the Order, a sign that the wall was built under his mastership. After passing through this entrance one finds oneself in a short vaulted passage, once the chapel already mentioned, as is shown by a stone in the wall bearing the letters I.H.S. in the centre of a sun in glory. On either side of this chapel and continuing all round the inner side of the outwork are a number of vaulted rooms, very strongly and excellently built, where the garrison of the fort could take shelter in perfect safety. On the roof of these was the battery where the guns stood within their embrasures, except on the north-west side, the eight casemates of which must have afforded great protection to the defenders.

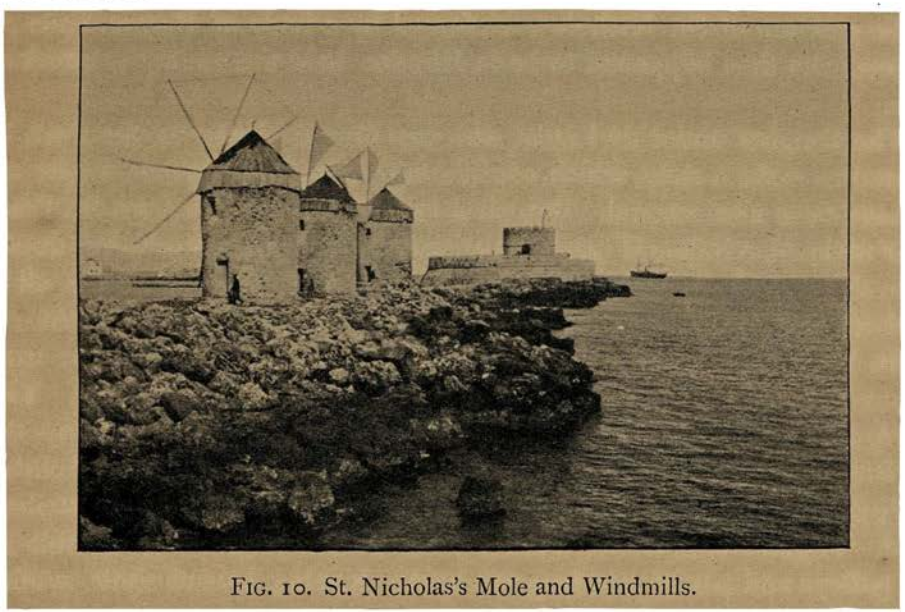

FIG. 10. St. Nicholas's Mole and Windmills.

In the tower itself, on the ground floor, is a very large room with a vast fire-place, no doubt the guard-room. Cisterns underneath supplied the garrison with water. It is from this room that one ascends to the first platform, level with the battery, by a newel staircase of twenty-five steps. From this platform to the second floor one counts forty-five steps. The look-out room is here. In each corner on large bracket-shaped stones are four shields, two of Zacosta and two of the Order. From this platform there is a fine view of the whole system of the fortifications.

Contrary to what Picenardi says, none of the ancient guns of the Knights are to be found in Fort St. Nicholas, nor indeed anywhere in the fortifications. The three windmills which we know to have been on the mole in the time of the Knights are there still (Fig. 10).

III

ATTACKS ON FORT ST. NICHOLAS

FORT ST. NICHOLAS played a great part in the sieges sustained by the Knights during their stay in Rhodes.

It was first attacked in 1444 by an Egyptian force, which landed on the sandy point near by, and pitched their camp round St. Anthony's Church. They had brought big siege-guns, and soon opened fire on the tower and on the walls of the town, the curtain towers of which suffered a great deal. But the garrison of St. Nicholas, reinforced by a body of Burgundians and Catalans, who then happened to be in Rhodes, held the enemy in check for a time.

The Knights under de Lastic, who was Grand Master at the time, had hesitated to make a sally, which, considering their small number, might very well have been unsuccessful. But when the curtain that ran from St. Peter's Tower to the Mandrakee (Fig. 11) began to show a serious breach, they decided to take the offensive. Accordingly, on the 24th of August, at sunrise, all the men that could be mustered passed out silently through the gates of St. Paul and St. Nicholas. They formed just outside the curtain, the light troops in front, the pikemen behind them, and the archers on the flanks. Then, at a signal, the clarions and drums in St. Nicholas's Tower struck up their most warlike airs, and the little body of Knights and mercenaries 'rushed' the Egyptian camp with such impetus that the besiegers were completely routed. A great number were killed ; the rest managed to scramble into their galleys and put to sea in great haste, leaving behind their artillery, stores, and baggage.

The second attack on St. Nicholas's Tower was in 1480, when some eighty thousand Turks under the command of Palaeologos, a trusted general of Sultan Mahomet II, landed in Rhodes to besiege the town. Their leader, finding that the fortifications were strong, and that he could not prevent ships from entering the harbour with men and supplies during the prevailing westerly winds of summer and autumn, decided to take Fort St. Nicholas, which commanded its entrance.

The Turkish artillery of Palaeologos was wonderful for those days. The guns were able to batter down any wall, however thick. He had in

particular sixteen bombards which could throw stone shot 9 and 11 inches in diameter. Three of these were trained on St. Nicholas's Tower from the gardens round St. Anthony's Church, firing at about 200 yards range. A battery, hastily put up by the Knights in the garden of Auvergne, tried unsuccessfully to silence them. The tower was struck by over three hundred of the biggest shot in six days. It was shaken to its foundations and so shattered in some parts that the western side fell with a mighty crash. The noise of the fall and the triumphant yells of the enemy struck terror into the hearts of the besieged throughout the town. But Antoine Fradin, a Fran-

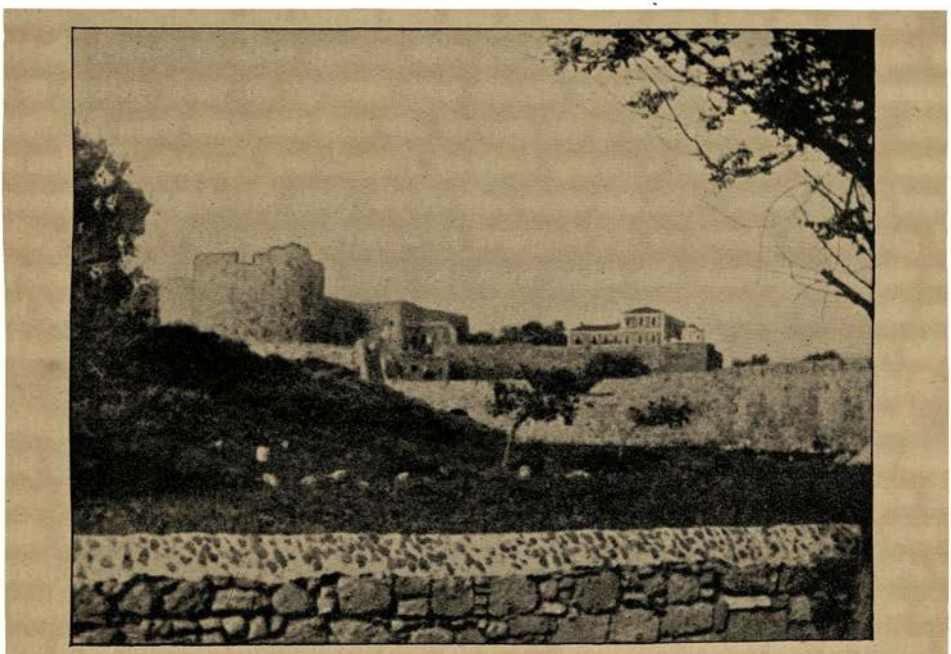

FIG. 11. St. Peter's Curtain.

ciscan, a collateral ancestor of the author of this work, was ubiquitous, a crucifix in one hand and a sword in the other, stirring the courage of all. An assault given at this moment by the Turks was repulsed, and Brother Fradin pursued the enemy into the sea, killing many with his own hand. In a *conspectus* of the Franciscan Missions published in Rome we find the following eulogy of this monk, whose name, says Bouhours, deserves to be remembered by posterity:—

. . . at silentio haud praetereundum est, in Insula Rhodii adversus Turcos defendenda simulque Catholica fide tuenda exemplum mirae constantiae et fortitudinis praebuisse P. Antonium Fradin O.F.M.

Meanwhile St. Nicholas's Tower was to be held at all costs, and as it could not be expected to resist another assault in the state it was in, Grand Master d'Aubusson decided to utilize the *débris* which was lying at its base in great heaps to make an outside line of defence. This was strengthened by a palisade of thick crossed beams nailed together. A thousand men were employed in this task, working day and night, under the supervision of Commander Carretto, who subsequently became Grand Master. D'Aubusson himself came in a small boat under heavy fire to see how the work was progressing.

As the sea was very shallow at low tide inside the Mandrakee harbour and close to the fort, planks studded with strong nails were sunk there to hamper the Turkish infantry should they attempt to wade across to the attack. Also in the ditch in the rear of the wall that runs from St. Peter's Tower to the harbour, a strong body of French and Spanish Knights was placed in readiness. On the outer side of the jetty fire-ships were moored, and guns were placed on the ramparts to open fire on any Turkish galleys that should approach the tower from the east while it was being attacked from the west by the land forces. Finally, the Grand Master, who had been in the saddle or on foot for hours superintending everything, shut himself in St. Nicholas's Tower with the pick of his Knights.

At sunrise, two days after the fall of the wall, the Turkish galleys, which were moored under St. Stephen's Hill, sailed round the sandy point and, with a favourable wind, steered straight for St. Nicholas to the sound of their drums and trumpets. But the Knights were ready to receive them, and although a great number of Turks managed to land, they were beaten back with a loss of seven hundred men. D'Aubusson fought like a lion in the midst of his brave Knights. His helmet being knocked off by a stone, he replaced it by a felt hat and continued to use his sword with deadly effect. Some of the fire-ships had meanwhile set fire to several Turkish galleys, and the rest of the attacking vessels sailed back in haste to the fleet anchored under St. Stephen's Hill.

Palaeologos, finding that his attempt to reduce the town through the taking of St. Nicholas's Fort was not to be so easy after all, turned his attention to the bastion of Italy, which was the weakest point in the fortifications. We shall see what happened there when we come to that part of the ramparts. This allowed the garrison of St. Nicholas some leisure to repair the damage done to the tower as best they could. The palisade was strengthened and its ditch widened by cutting through the rock.

The efforts of the Turks to storm the bastion of Italy being frustrated,

they turned their attention once more to Fort St. Nicholas, which they knew to be more or less in ruins. They now adopted the device of constructing a kind of floating bridge, wide enough for six men to march abreast and long enough to reach from St. Anthony's Church to the foot of the tower. To make this a number of trees were cut down on the neighbouring coast and planks nailed upon them. The end of the bridge was to be drawn to its intended position by a strong rope that passed through the ring of an anchor which an enterprising Turk secured by night to the rocks on which the tower stood. But, according to the chroniclers, a vigilant English sailor, named Rogers, who detected this, plunged into the sea as soon as the Turk had left and loosened the anchor, so that when the rope was pulled it offered no resistance. The bridge had therefore to be towed in the direction of the tower by a number of rowing-boats. To further this manœuvre Palaeologos filled thirty galleys with soldiers, while a number of lighter craft carried picked men who were to rush to the assault as soon as those in the galleys were landed.

The Turks decided to make the attack on the night of the 19th of June. They approached noiselessly about midnight, and having disembarked on the rocks the drums and trumpets sounded the assault. The Knights, however, were well prepared, and the fighting on each side soon assumed a desperate character. The struggle was carried on in the dark, the whole scene being only lit up at intervals by the flash of hand-grenades and fire-pots. Time after time the Turks, though beaten back, renewed the attack. The guns of the defenders soon demolished the floating bridge, and several of the assailants' boats were sunk. Two thousand five hundred Turkish soldiers were killed in this action, including a large number of officers, and a son-in-law of the Sultan, who perished on the breach of the new emergency works of St. Nicholas. Palaeologos, convinced at last that St. Nicholas's Tower was not to be taken, withdrew his troops and attempted nothing more against it during the rest of this memorable siege, which lasted sixty days, and had to be raised, to the confusion of the Turks, who lost nine thousand men killed and sixteen thousand wounded.

During the great and last siege in 1522, little was attempted on the northern side of the city. When Grand Master l'Isle Adam was putting Rhodes into a state of defence, a boom, made of timber brought from the forests of Anatolia near by, was floated across the harbour mouth from Fort St. Nicholas to Windmills' Tower. The Fort was garrisoned with three hundred men under the command of thirty Knights. Rhodes surrendered on the 20th of December, 1522, after a desperate stand of five months.

The Knights were allowed twelve days in which to evacuate the island. But Sultan Suleiman was so anxious to visit the place that he did not wait till they had left, and on the 26th of the same month he rode through the town and on to Fort St. Nicholas which had made itself so famous in 1480.

At sunset, when the golden sun of the East strikes the old stones, the Fort is a glorious sight, standing as it does like an advance sentry in the bright turquoise sea. It is unhappily disfigured by a modern lighthouse tower.

IV

NAILLAC AND WINDMILLS' TOWERS

Of Naillac's Tower nothing remains but its base. It is, however, worth a passing mention, as, with Windmills' Tower, it commanded the

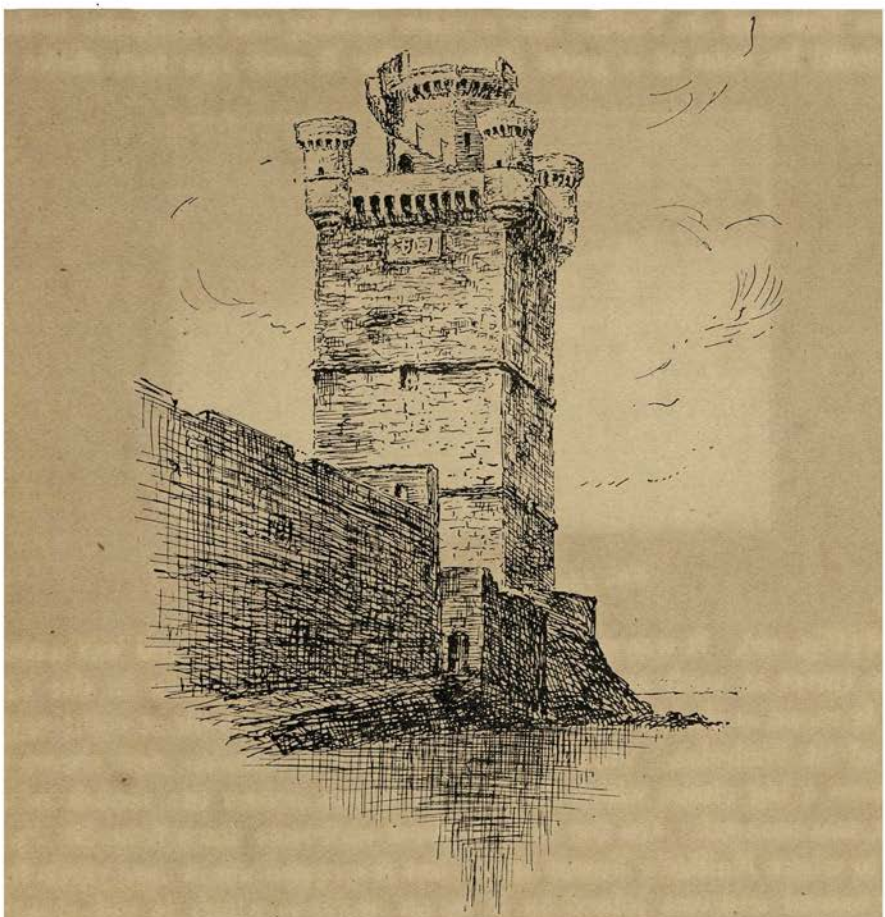

Fig. 12. Naillac's Tower as it was.

entrance into the Grand Harbour. It was built by Grand Master Philibert de Naillac about 1400. A great number of Arab prisoners worked at it,

whence it was also called Arab's Tower, a name which has been preserved to this day by the Turks. It has been described, too, by different authors as St. Angelo's, St. Michael's, Franks', and Trabuco, this last name being probably a corruption of *tribuccus*, a variant form of *trebuchetum*, the familiar *trébuchet*, or great catapult, used in mediaeval sieges. Mr. Torr calls it the Tower of France, perhaps because in the latter years of the Knights' occupation the ramparts of the Tongue of France ended there; but when built it was in the sphere of Castile. It would be more appropriate to call the Windmills' Tower the Tower of France, as it is ornamented on two sides by a shield bearing the three *fleurs-de-lys*.

The Tower of de Naillac was a most striking and handsome building which could be seen at a great distance, for it rose 150 feet above the

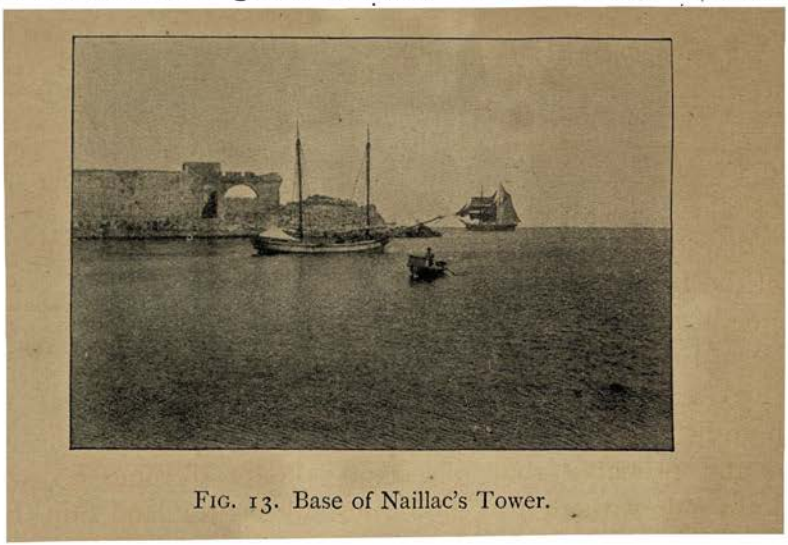

FIG. 13. Base of Naillac's Tower.

sea-level (Fig. 12). It was square, with stone machicolation, and had a round bartizan turret at each angle, and a central octagonal tower in the same style. It stood at the end of a mole sixty yards long, built at right angles to that of St. Nicholas. Its blue granite base still remains, and shows the spot where a big chain, which used to be drawn across the mouth of the harbour, was secured. On the mole a thick wall runs down from St. Paul's Tower to where Naillac's Tower stood, but it stopped about ten yards from the last named and was joined to it by an archway which is yet standing (Fig. 13).

On the north face of this curtain wall is a shield of the Order side by side with that of Grand Master Fluvian or de Lastic. It is difficult to tell which is which, as both coats bore the same charge, and colours do not now

appear on the stone, if they ever did. This shows that the wall in question must have been built later than the tower, probably to strengthen it. In 1851 Naillac's Tower was badly cracked by an earthquake, and was patched up in the reign of Sultan Abdul Medjed, as one reads on a Turkish inscription near the remains of the archway. But the work was so carelessly done that a second earthquake on April 22, 1863, threw down part of the tower. It did not fall entirely, as Mr. Torr, and Picenardi, who copied him, tell us. Afterwards it was demolished as being a constant danger to boats entering the harbour. This fine tower took no active part in the defence of the town during its sieges.

The harbour-mouth is 250 yards across, and is defended on the other side by the Windmills' Tower, otherwise called—we do not know why—St. John's or the Angel's. It would be more appropriate, perhaps, as we have said, to call it the Tower of France, as on the land and sea sides it is decorated with the shield of France ensigned with a royal crown and resting on a laurel-wreath. These shields bear a label, which would indicate that they have been set up in honour of a Prince of the House of France (Fig. 14).

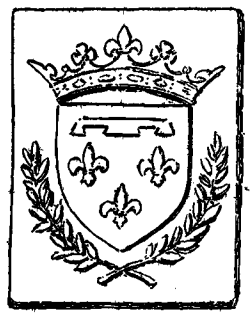

FIG. 14. Shield on the Windmills' Tower.

Legend ascribes Windmills' Tower to King Louis IX of France, who is said to have built it on his way to the crusade of 1248. There may have been a tower there before, but, as it stands now, it is undoubtedly the work of the Knights and probably that of Grand Master d'Aubusson, whose shield also, side by side with that of the Order, adorns the land side (Fig. 16).

Windmills' Tower is not, as several authors assert, very like St. Nicholas's. It is much smaller and narrower in proportion to its height, which is about 75 feet. It stands at the end of a jetty 275 yards in length and 35 wide, built by the Knights on Greek foundations and running from the eastern corner of the ramparts in a northerly direction (Fig. 15).

On the face of the tower overlooking the jetty traces of three arches are distinctly visible, possibly the remains of a form of machicolation similar to that of the keep of Château Gaillard (Viollet-le-Duc, *Milit. Arch.* p. 91); also an outside shaft runs from the first floor to the platform, and was probably used for hoisting ammunition. The arches must have been filled up at a later date, perhaps when d'Aubusson altered and strengthened all the fortifications. Round the foot of the tower is the chemise, a narrow space enclosed by a low thick wall of counter-guard with embrasures from

which guns could fire seaward. On the land side are two square buildings, one a guard-room, the other a chapel.

The fort takes its name from the thirteen windmills which at one time stood on the mole. During the siege of 1480 they were demolished by the Turkish guns, firing from the rocks to the eastward. These rocks are supposed to be the remains of a jetty made by Demetrius during the great siege of Greek Rhodes in 305 B.C. The mills were rebuilt soon after as necessary to the town, for most of the flour consumed was ground in them. Some were worked by Rhodian churches, and furnished part of

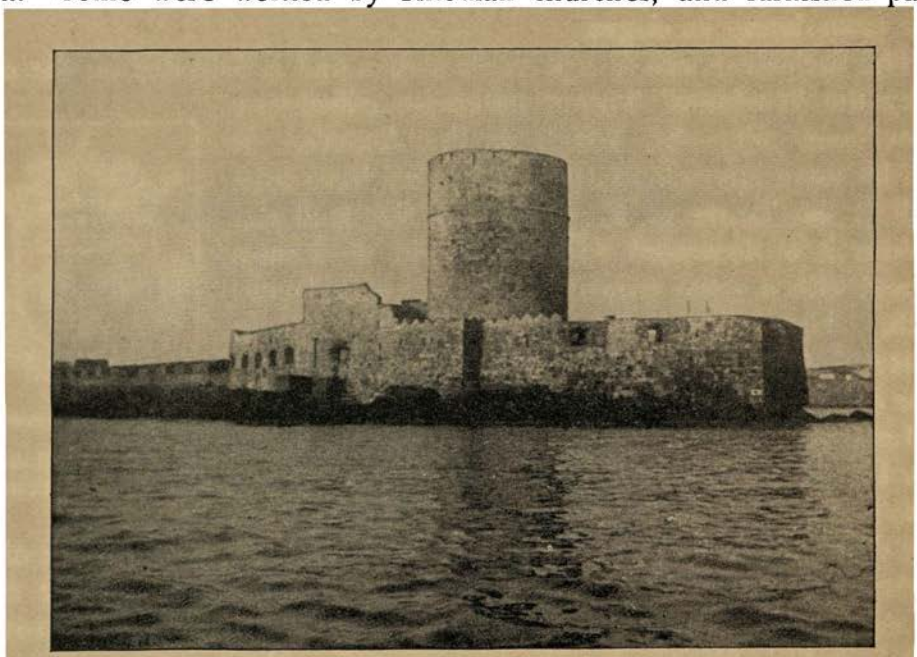

FIG. 15. Windmills' Tower from the Sea.

the income of their livings. For instance, in 1389 the second and the sixth, reckoning from the tower, were given to the chapel of the Virgin in St. John's Church. In 1392 the first, the fourth, and the ninth were granted to St. Catherine's Church in the Burgh; and in 1489 the fifth belonged to another church.

The view of Rhodes in Bredenbach's book, *Sanctarum Peregrinationum Opusculum*, Lyons, 1488, shows the thirteen mills; but in another view, given in Bouhours' *Histoire d'Aubusson*, Paris, 1676, a view which, by the way, through a common error of early cutters, is reversed, there are only eleven. The mole of the mills was improved and strengthened by

d'Aubusson, who built there in 1480 extensive earthworks ramped with strong beams. Of the thirteen mills only three exist to-day.

At the foot of the Windmills' Tower outwork and in the harbour is a recess where the other end of the big chain stretching across from Naillac's Tower was secured. Inside this recess is a strong marble column round which the chain was passed and hauled taut or lowered. It was d'Aubusson who in 1476 devised this contrivance to prevent any ship of the enemy from entering the harbour by surprise. Guérin says that this chain was

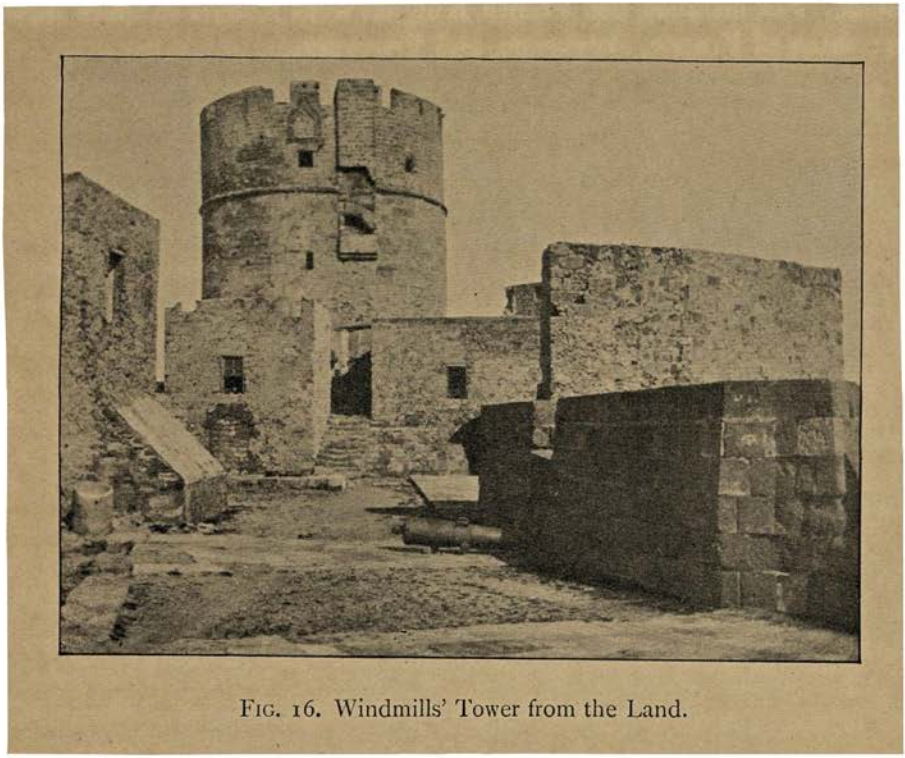

FIG. 16. Windmills' Tower from the Land.

carried to Constantinople in 1843, but we could not find any trace of it there. It was still in use long after the Knights left, for we found from an entry in the log-book of the French corvette *Truite*, under the date of February 6, 1826, that the harbour was closed every night with the same chain.

The guarding of the three Towers of St. Nicholas, Naillac, and Windmills was entrusted for a term of three years to a Knight of established reputation for bravery, chosen in rotation from amongst the several Tongues or Bodies composing the Order. This was no doubt done to prevent possible treachery. The officer thus selected took the title of

Captain of the Three Towers. Curious to relate, the Knight could free himself from his watch by supplying any one who took his place with a ration of wine.

As we have said, the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, or, more properly, the Knights of Rhodes, were divided into bodies representing the nations to which they belonged. Mr. Torr and other English authors use the word *Nation* in speaking of these bodies, on the analogy of the usage in mediaeval universities. *Lingua*, or *Tongue*, was the term used in their days to designate them. For instance, the French Knights were formed of three separate bodies: those of France, Auvergne, and Provence.

V

THE RAMPARTS—ST. PAUL'S GATE AND TOWER—ST. NICHOLAS'S GATE—ST. PETER'S TOWER—THE WALLS OF FRANCE

RHODES was undoubtedly one of the best-fortified towns in the Europe of the fifteenth century, and what makes its old walls so curious and interesting now is their wonderful state of preservation. Here we have a mediaeval city surviving in all its defensive war-gear of tower and curtain and keep. There are in Europe other mediaeval fortified cities even more important, but none can boast of both so short and so glorious a history.

Amongst the Grand Masters who took the most prominent part in the building or repair of the fortifications must be mentioned Helion de Villeneuve, who erected the earliest walls; de Naillac, whose tower we have described; de Lastic, whose name is associated with the western part of the ramparts and with the famous Hospital; Zacosta, who built Fort St. Nicholas; and Orsini, who devoted himself to the wall of Castile. But the three Grand Masters d'Aubusson, d'Amboise, and Carretto are those who did most for the defences. D'Aubusson, more especially, built or altered walls and buildings everywhere after the first siege and the earthquake of 1481. There is hardly a corner where his shield is not to be seen.

The greater part of the ditch was first excavated in the rock by the Byzantines about 1275, and was deepened by the Knights after the siege of 1480. Its width varies from thirty to forty yards, and its depth from sixteen to thirty. The ramparts of Rhodes were mostly designed by Italian engineers, among whom were Gioeno, Bartolucci, and Tadino di Martinengo. In 1520 Grand Master Carretto induced the well-known Basilio della Scola, who was then engineer to the Emperor Maximilian of Austria, to come to Rhodes and modernize the old ramparts. It was he that had all the towers and bastions cut down to the height of the walls: the usual modification when old fortifications were adapted to receive artillery. In many parts they were reduced to a level with the glacis. The old walls, as we have said, are easily recognized in that they are without batter, and the merlons are swallow-tailed in form. The new walls batter

at the base, have the customary cordon already described, and their merlons and embrasures are rectangular. The rampart walk, or boulevard, is as wide as eighty feet for half the way round the town. Round the other

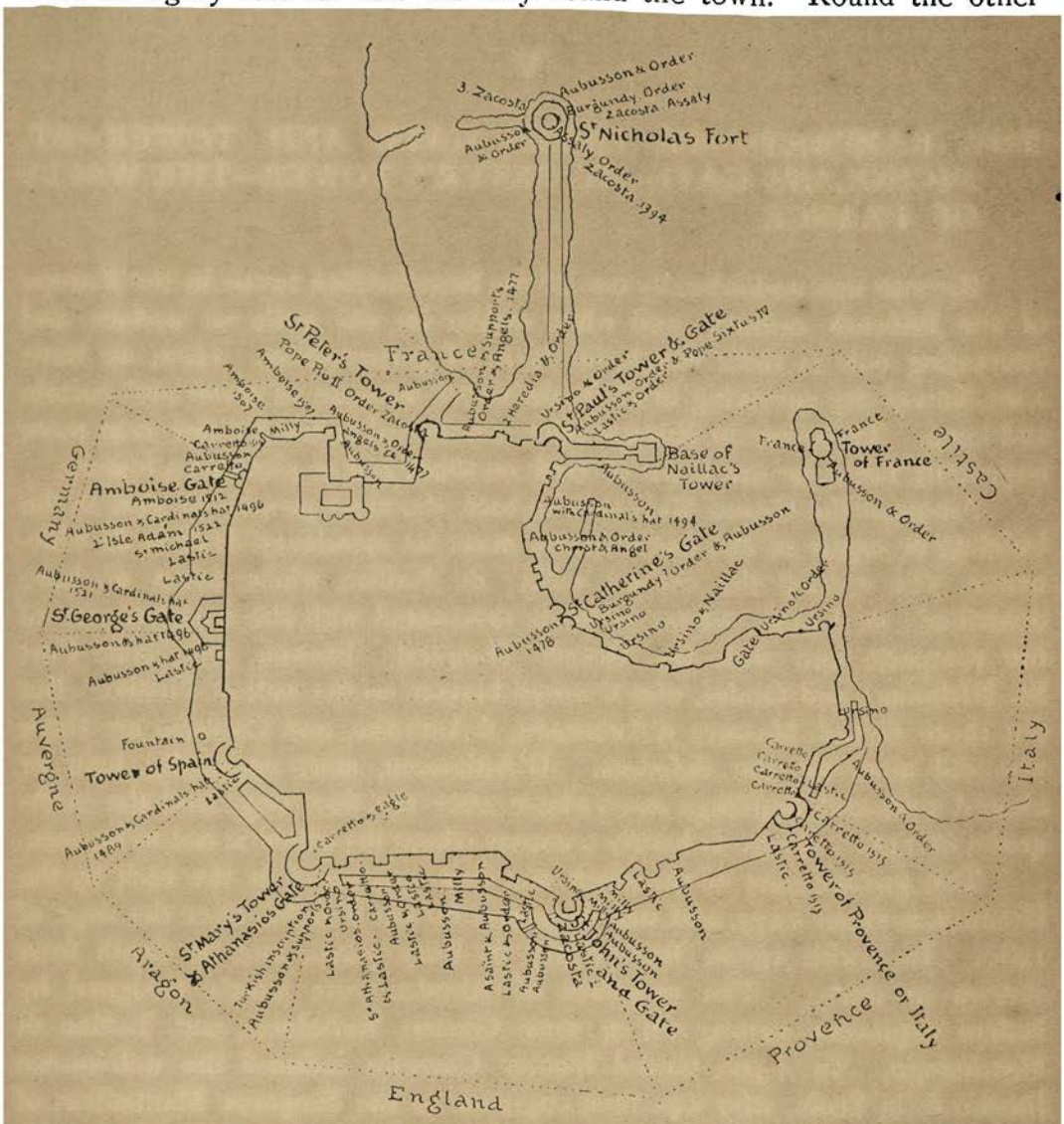

FIG. 17. Map of the Walls, showing Grand Masters' shields and fighting area of the Tongues.

half, that is along the walls of France and Castile, there is only a narrow allure protected by a six-foot parapet, in which are, in some parts, curiously shaped loopholes in the form of an elongated cross with a circular opening at the point of section.

After the taking of the town by the Turks in 1522 the walls, which in many parts had been badly breached, were rebuilt in the same style by 5,000 workmen brought from the mainland.

Let us now begin our tour round the ramparts.

For the better understanding of our text we give here a plan of the walls, showing which portions were allotted to the different Tongues during the last few years of the Knights' occupation. In the first division recorded,

FIG. 18. St Paul's Gate and Tower.

which was made in 1465, the distribution of posts was a little different from what it was at the time of the last siege. For instance, the wall of Germany was less important, and the Tongue of England exchanged their post with that of the Tongue of Aragon before the last siege (Fig. 17).

We have also noted on this map all the shields that are to be found round the ramparts. These have never been published before.

St. Paul's Gate will be our starting-point (Fig. 18). Like the other gates of the town, this has two outer gateways, the first through an outwork, and the second through the curtain which connects St. Paul's with Naillac's

FIG. 19. St. Paul's Gate, inside.

FIG. 20. From St. Paul's Gate to the Sea Gate.

Tower. Between these two gates is a triangular space in which stands the tower which gives its name to the gate (Fig. 19). The second gate leads to a narrow quay running along the foot of the Castile walls as far as the Sea or Marine Gate (Fig. 20).

Mr. Torr tells us that St. Paul's Tower was built about 1501 by d'Aubusson. It is circular in shape, and not more than thirty-five feet high. It is adorned near the top on the north side with a large slab of grey marble, showing in relief a very dilapidated bust of St. Paul holding his usual emblems—a book in one hand and a sword in the other. Close to his head and in Gothic characters one reads the words *S. Paul.* Under

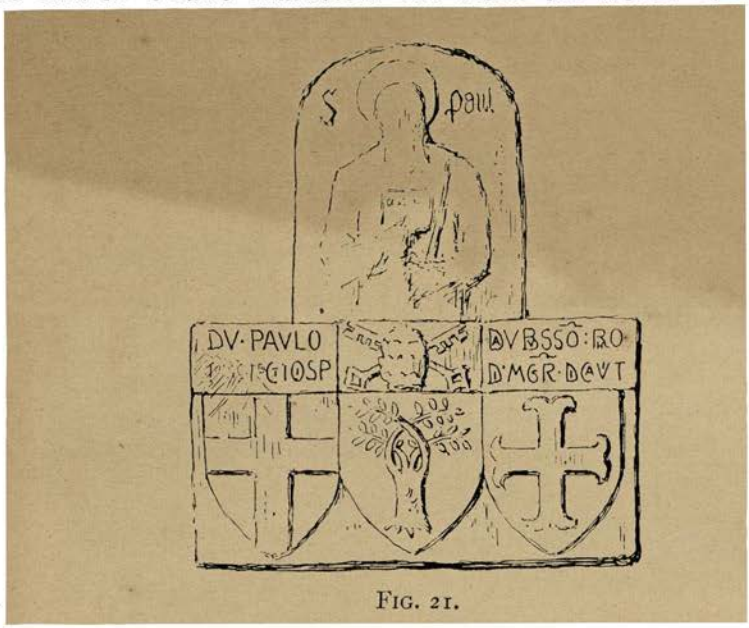

FIG. 21.

this slab is another, bearing three shields. That in the centre displays a tree and is ensigned by a papal tiara. This is flanked by the shield of the Order on the left and that of d'Aubusson on the right. The central shield was set up in honour of Pope Sixtus IV, a great patron of the Order, who during the siege of 1480 sent troops to help the Knights and afterwards caused money to be collected for the repair of the walls. Below this is an inscription in two parts, impossible to decipher in its entirety owing to one corner of the stone being worn away. It is certainly different from the version given by Rottiers and reproduced by Guérin, Biliotti, and Picenardi. A facsimile of it is shown above (Fig. 21). According to Rottier this reads: *Divo Paulo conventus Sti. Joannis Petrus d'Aubusson Rhodi Magister dicavit.* The first two words are quite clear, but we cannot

extract from the second line the four words: *conventus Sti. Joannis Petrus.* The last four letters of the second line are very clear, and should help to elucidate the inscription.

From St. Paul's Tower starts the wall of the Tongue of France. This runs in a westerly direction (Fig. 22), closing what was once the garden of Auvergne, as far as St. Peter's Tower. But on the way it passes round another square tower standing diagonally and not in a right line with the

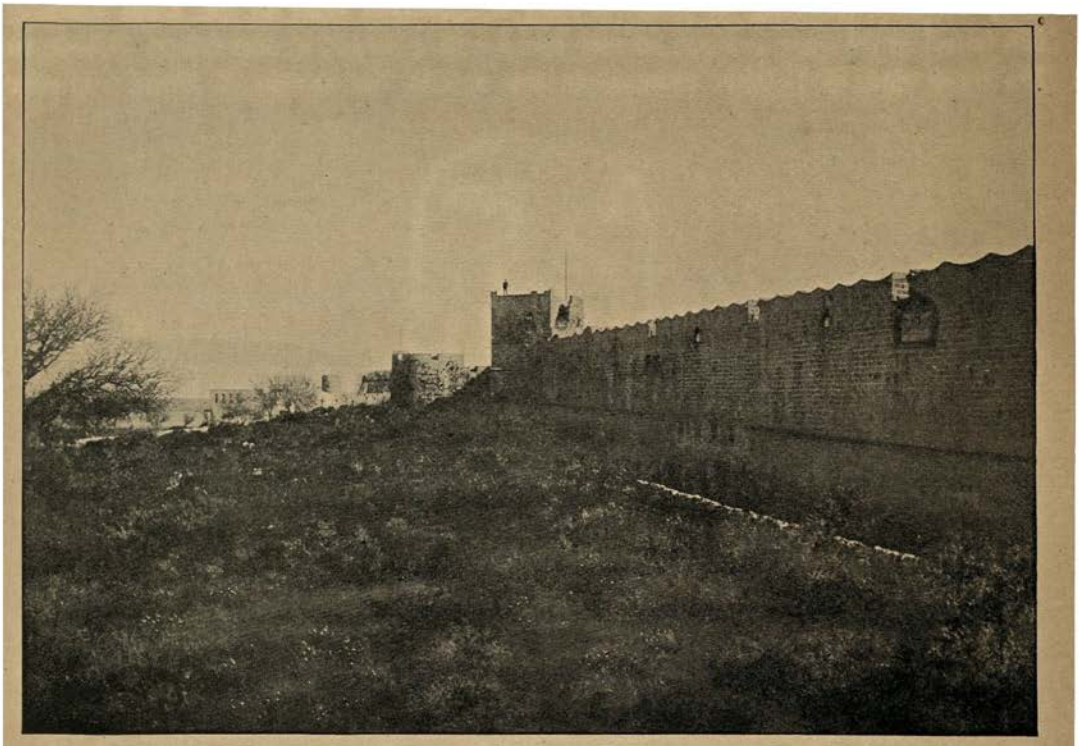

FIG. 22. The Walls of France, and Heredia's and St. Paul's Towers; also d'Aubusson's first inscription.

curtain. This tower is decorated with a slab of white marble bearing the shield of Heredia between two others of the Order. Inside the tower, and on a level with the allure of the ramparts, there must once have been a chapel, as we find columns and traces of arches. A flight of outside steps takes one to the platform, whence a fine view of the harbour is obtained (Fig. 23).

Very possibly this old tower is one of those which had their corners taken off by the Egyptian artillery in 1444. The curtain must have followed a different line in those days, and to this is due the present position

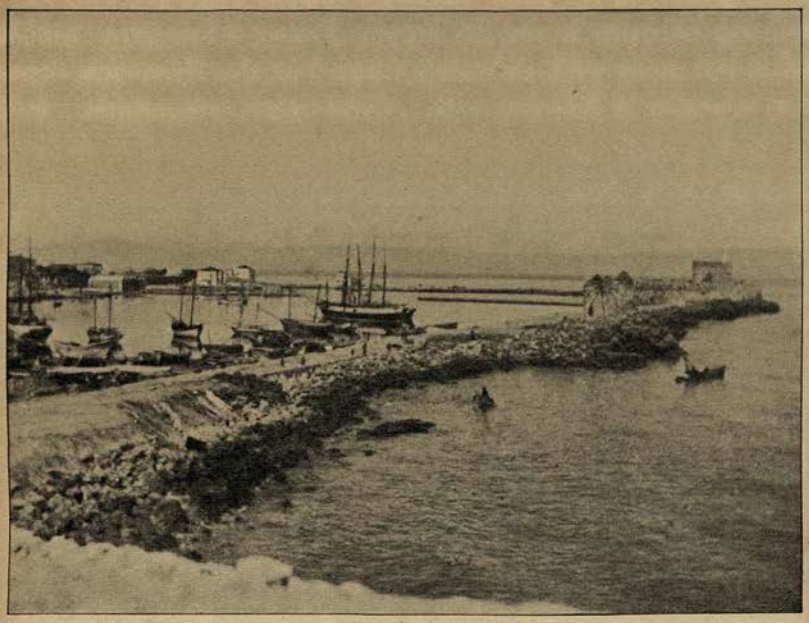

FIG. 23. The Galley Harbour and St. Nicholas's Fort, from St. Paul's Tower.

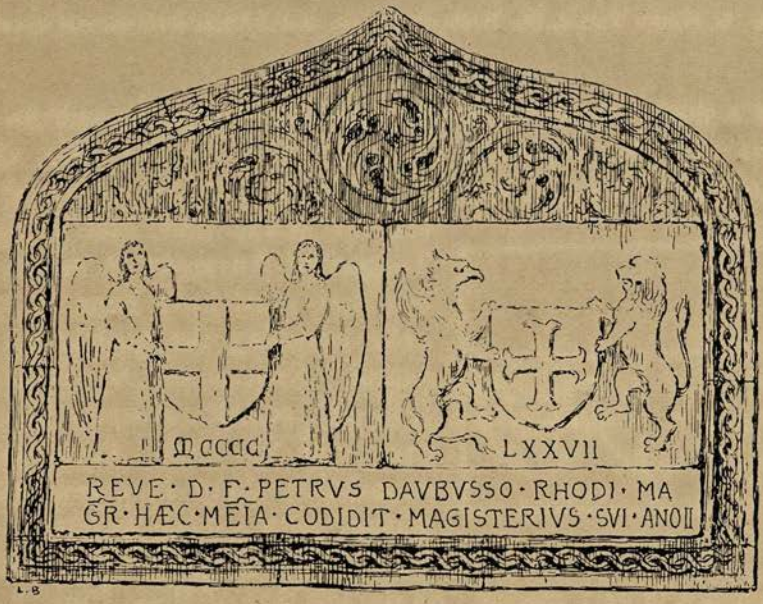

FIG. 24.

of the tower, preserved for some unknown reason when the wall was altered. About half-way between it and St. Peter's Tower a fine grey marble slab is embedded in the outer wall, delicately framed in the Byzantine rope-pattern or torse so common in Rhodes, with a flamboyant tympanum. It bears in

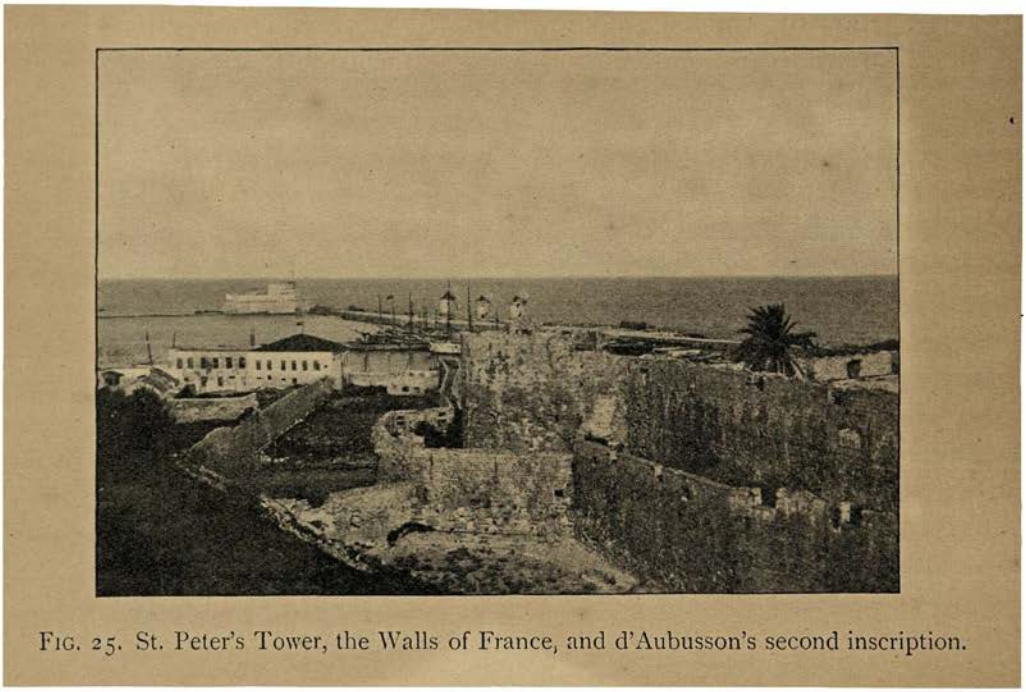

FIG. 25. St. Peter's Tower, the Walls of France, and d'Aubusson's second inscription.

high relief a shield of the Order supported by two angels, and the shield of d'Aubusson with its supporters, a griffin and a lion (see Fig. 24).

It is evident from its date that d'Aubusson, who was elected in 1476, did not waste time, and being of the Tongue of Auvergne it seems that his first care must have been to repair the walls enclosing the quarter of his own nation. Next comes St. Peter's Tower (Fig. 25), round and squat like its companion of St. Paul. There is nothing remarkable about it, except that it is adorned with a much mutilated statue of St. Paul standing in a niche, under which are three shields in grey marble: on the left that of Pope Pius II, ensigned with tiara and keys; in the centre that of the Order, and on the right

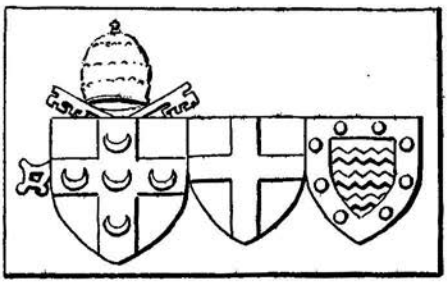

FIG. 26.

that of Grand Master Zacosta, who either built or repaired this tower about 1465 (Fig. 26).

A newel staircase gives access to the platform from a *fausse braye*, which runs all along the walls of France in the fosse.

Picenardi places near this tower the ancient gate of St. Nicholas, the exact position of which is unknown. After a careful inspection, however, of the wall inside and out we came to the conclusion that he is wrong. On the other hand a very large two-storied archway exists between St. Paul's and the Heredia Tower. Without a doubt it is there that the gate of St. Nicholas stood. It is evident that when the earliest walls were standing the exit from the Town to the St. Nicholas jetty and the Mandrakee could not have been anywhere else. St. Nicholas gate was walled up in 1501 by d'Aubusson when he made the new gate of St. Paul and closed and enlarged the garden of Auvergne, which up to that time had to be crossed when leaving the Town at that point. In this garden and close to the big archway two large blocks of grey marble lie half-buried in the ground. Shields are carved on them, but in the early long-heater style, the oldest found in Rhodes, which shows them to have been coeval with the original walls, and perhaps to have been set in St. Nicholas's Gate. On the first slab is a long-heater shaped shield of the Order, the only one of that shape we have met with in the island (Fig. 27).

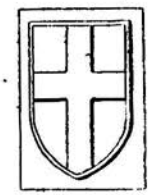

FIG. 27.

On the second slab are three shields in a row. The first on the left bears three round-headed nails; we do not know whose it is. Possibly it is not armorial, but represents the emblems of the Passion; which, however, are found as heraldic charges. The second is the shield of the Chantemerles, who gave several Knights to the Order. The third, which is larger than the other two, belongs to Heredia and displays his seven castles (Fig. 28).

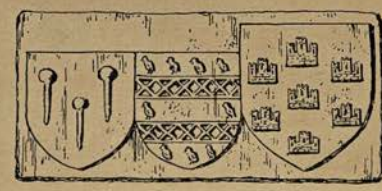

FIG. 28.

From St. Peter's Tower the wall runs south and is connected with the rear of the Auberge, or Palace of France, which we shall describe later. Then once more it takes a westerly direction as far as the Grand Master's Palace. At this part of the wall the allure stops, as modern and hideous Turkish houses have been built right up to it. Near the angle so formed is another large grey marble slab similar to the one just described, with the shield of the Order supported by angels, and that of d'Aubusson with his

FIG. 29.

FIG. 30. The Ditch of France. Turkish Military Hospital in Grand Master's Garden

own supporters, the griffin and lion. The inscription this time is above and a little different. We reproduce it here *litteratim* (Fig. 29).

In this case the framing is simpler, the slab being in a more secluded spot. It consists of a deep stone-moulding accompanied with the Byzantine torse, or rope ornament, so prominent a feature of all buildings of the Knights.

From this point to the Grand Master's Palace the wall is quite uninteresting. Having been extensively repaired by the Turks, all shields have been removed except one of d'Aubusson's high up on the eastern corner of what remains of the Palace. From there the wall runs north, then west again, round a terrace, once the Grand Master's garden, although Mr. Torr believes the latter to have been outside the walls. This garden was noted at the end of the fifteenth century for several curiosities, such as ostriches, Indian sheep, a Siamese dog and other animals; also for fragments of precious Greek statuary found in the Island. In the garden has been built the present Turkish Military Hospital, and in the centre an

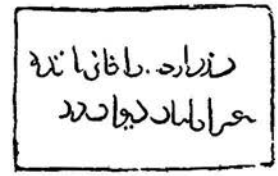

FIG. 31.

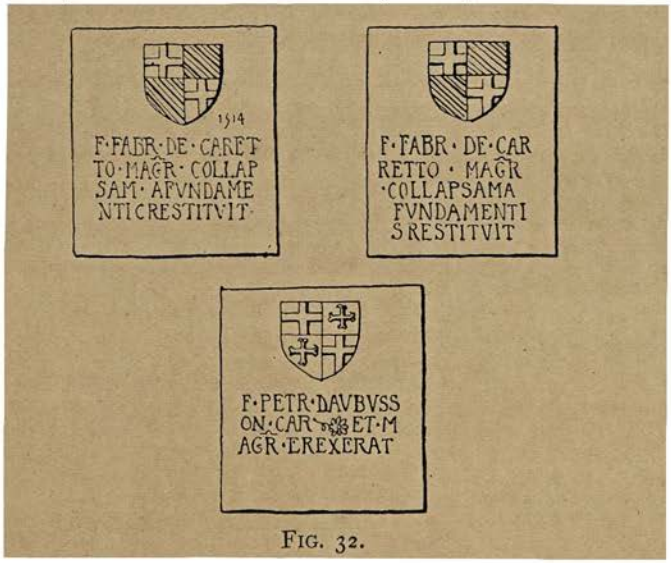

FIG. 32.

inclined road leads to an underground battery, the guns of which commanded the whole ditch of France (Fig. 30).

The garden was reached from the Palace by a spiral staircase, which was blocked by *débris* after the explosion of 1856 which destroyed St. John's Church; but its lower portion is still in good condition. At the eastern

angle of the terrace a square turret overhangs the fosse, and at the western angle and low down can be read a Turkish inscription commemorating the name of the officer by whom the wall was here repaired (Fig. 31).

Here, but on the counterscarp, which is revetted everywhere, we find three shields of Grand Master d'Amboise. His arms are quartered with the cross of the Order, as became the fashion with the later Grand Masters. Two of the shields bear the date 1507. Now the wall turns south again. Between this and the Amboise Gate we notice three large slabs of grey marble, each about four feet square, showing shields and inscriptions that have never before been published. We reproduce them above. On one is a flower rebus (Fig. 32).

And here ends the wall of France. The blue banner with the three gold *fleurs-de-lys* of the Tongue of France floated on its bastion, while on the Palace the Grand Master for the time being displayed his personal banner and also that of the Order with the plain white cross on its red field.

VI

THE WALLS OF GERMANY—AMBOISE AND ST. GEORGE'S GATES—THE WALLS OF AUVERGNE

THE walls of the Tongue of Germany began at Amboise Gate, which the Knights of that nation had to guard, and continued as far as St. George's Gate, 250 yards away.

The ditch is here crossed by a stone bridge of three arches, and one

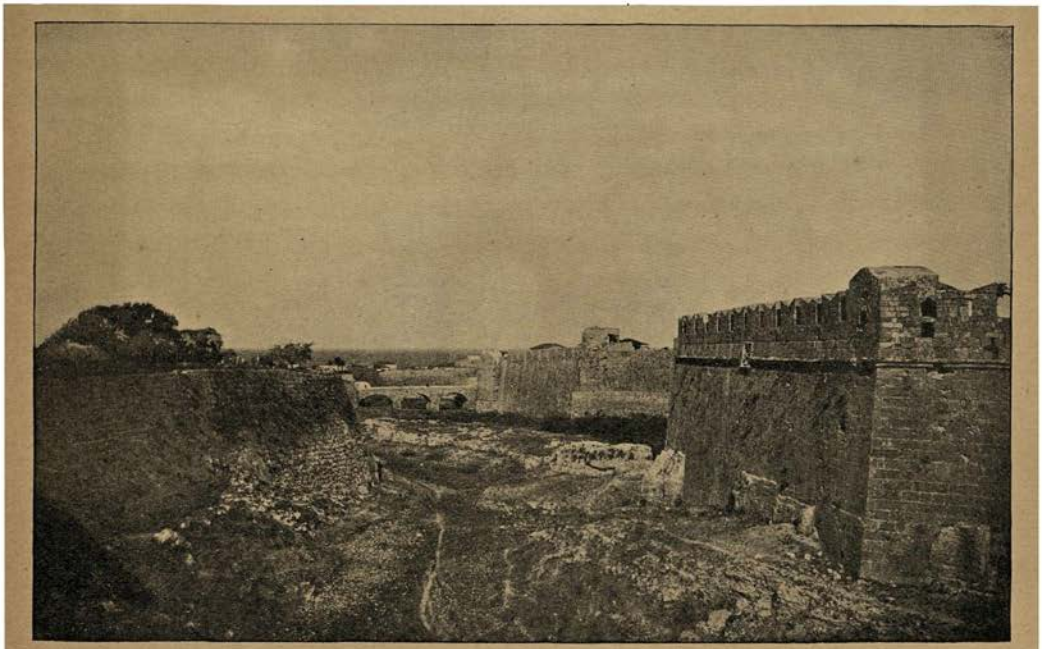

FIG. 33. The German Ditch, with the Bridge leading to Amboise Gate.

has to pass a drawbridge before entering the Amboise Gate (Fig. 33). This is flanked on either side by thick round bastions which do not rise higher than the wall. They have a platform and an embrasured parapet, curving in section after the common pattern, so as to throw up the besiegers' projectiles. The Amboise Gate existed from the first, but without these low towers, as can be seen by its double indented merlons. It was restored and strengthened in 1512 by Grand Master d'Amboise. Some call it the Gate of St. Ambrose, a mistake which originated from a misprint in Fontanus's work on Rhodes,

published in 1524. It is known amongst the Turks as the *Eghree Capoo*, or crooked gate, as the roads leading to it from inside and outside the ramparts are peculiarly winding. It was the nearest way out of the town from the Grand Master's Palace and the Collachium or Military City (Fig. 34). There are here, as extra protection to the Palace, three lines of defence. In the second ditch stands a cavalier, probably built by Grand Master de Milly, as it bears his shield in white marble. Over the doorway of the Amboise Gate, and framed in a deep stone-moulding, is a basso-relievo in white marble representing a long-robed angel with outstretched wings,

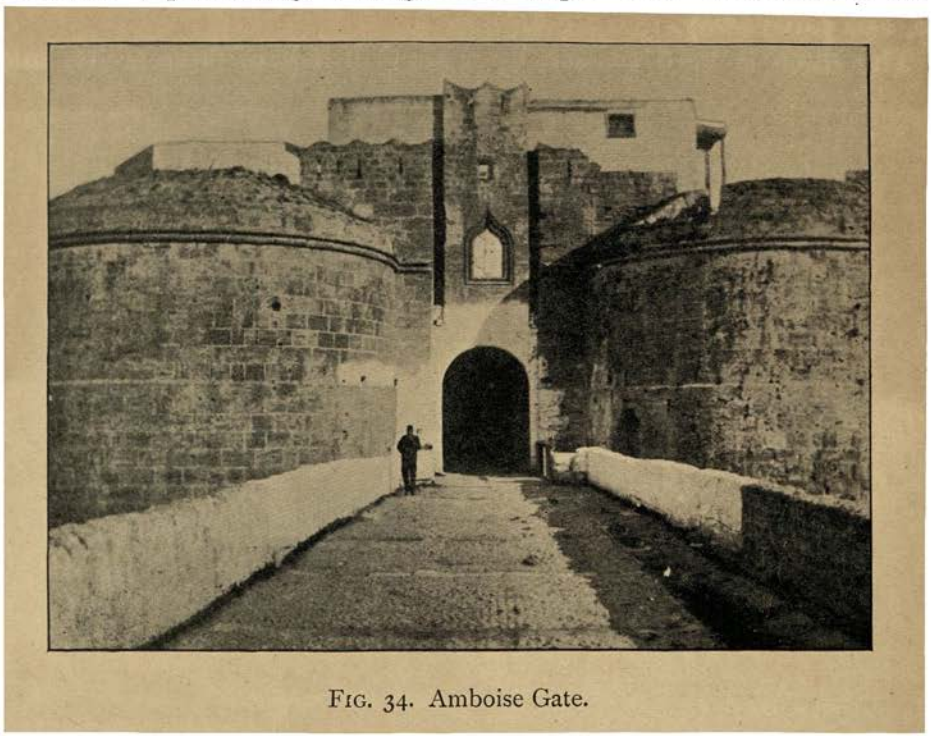

FIG. 34. Amboise Gate.

standing on a pedestal, and holding at arm's-length in the right hand the shield of the Order and in the left that of d'Amboise, whose name is cut underneath with the date MDXII. Above the angel's head appears a bust of Christ holding an orb and pointing to heaven. Both faces have been mutilated by the iconoclastic Turk (Fig. 35). Speaking of mutilation, one notices traces of bullets on many of the shields of the Order, the cross on which was naturally hateful to the Ottoman as the emblem of Christianity. We read that d'Amboise had also the shield of France placed over his gate, and that when he died, in 1513, the leaders of the other Tongues protested against the *fleur-de-lys* being there, as it would seem to indicate that the

Order placed themselves under the protection of the King of France. This shield in consequence was removed and placed on the Auberge, or Palace of the Tongue of France, and the other bodies, following suit, also adorned their auberges with the shields of their Tongues.

As said above, the post of the German Knights extended along the walls for 250 yards from the Amboise Gate to St. George's Gate, both inclusively. The German Knights were least in number and comparatively poor men. As Faber wrote in 1557, *Minimi sunt nobiles Alemanni, semper pauperiores et omnium servi.* The Commander of the post at the time of the siege of 1522 was Christopher Waldener.

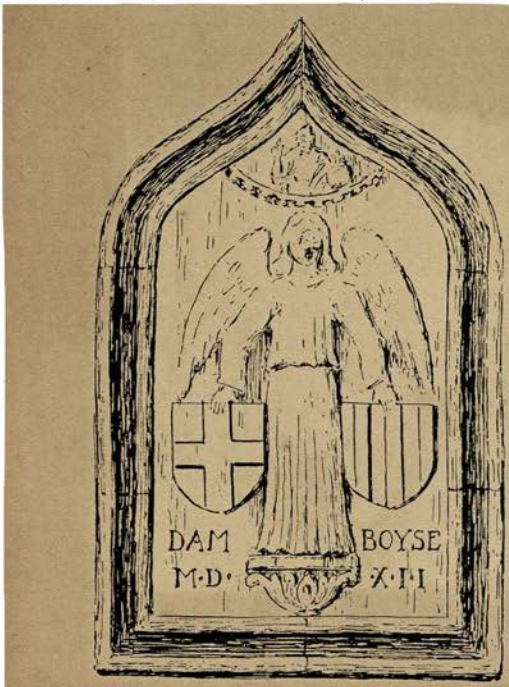

FIG. 35.

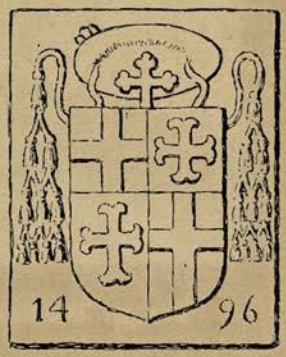

FIG. 36.

The German walls were first erected by Grand Master de Lastic; then d'Aubusson pulled down part of them and rebuilt the counterscarp in 1496. The old wall retains the *fausse braye*, which from here runs round outside the main ramparts as far as the Tower of Italy. In the same year St. George's Gate was found to be useless. It was therefore walled up, and its bastion enclosed in a strong outwork. D'Aubusson's shield, quartered with that of the Order and ensigned with his Cardinal's hat, is to be found on the three faces of this work (Fig. 36). Two of the shields bear dates,

1496 and 1521. The latter shows that some improvement was carried out in the year before the last siege by Grand Master l'Isle Adam, who had also his shield set in the wall close to the Amboise Gate. This is the only instance we can find of a Grand Master's coat of arms not being quartered with that of the Order. Close to this shield is a life-size basso-relievo in grey marble representing St. Michael the Archangel. It is simply let into the wall without any moulding round it, and one wonders whether it was not put there by the Turks at a later date, as in the case of other slabs which we shall come across presently, and which must have been taken out of

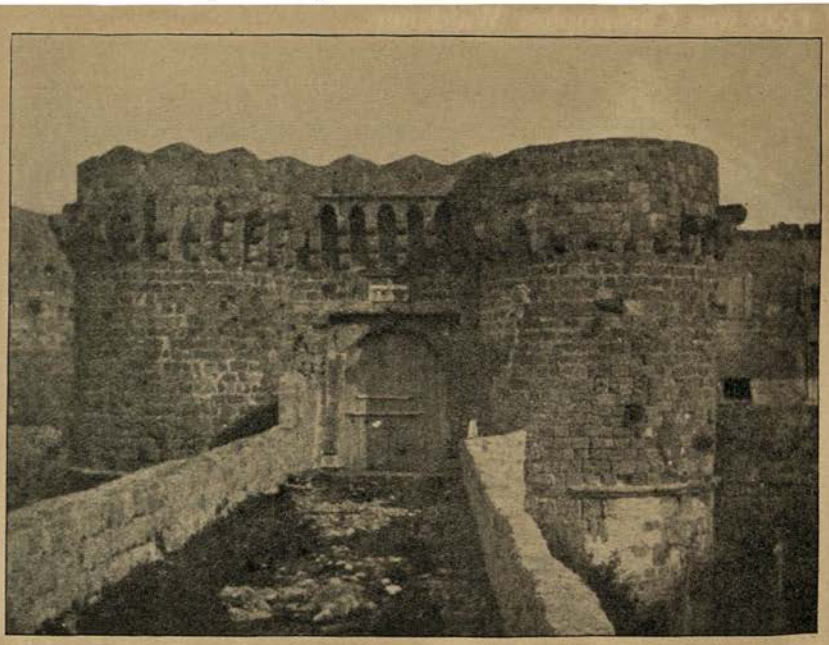

FIG. 37. The Palace Gate leading to the Boulevard of Germany.

some church or chapel not far off; perhaps out of St. Michael's Chapel, which we know to have been built outside the walls of Germany in 1455 by the Master Mason of the Arsenal. The Boulevard of Germany was connected with the Palace, so that the Grand Master could reach it through a gate flanked by two round towers and along a parapet-way. These exist still (Fig. 37).

St. George's Gate, which ends the post of Germany, is full of interest. The road from the town went through the thickness of the curtain, and then passed on either side of St. George's Tower (Fig. 38). Right and left, in the body of the outer work, are two stories of wonderful under-

ground rooms, beautifully vaulted. These are 50 feet long by 30 wide, and 25 feet high. The lower rooms are deep under ground and have large fireplaces. The upper rooms, which are of the same height as the ramparts, are ventilated by openings in their roofs. A large body of troops could

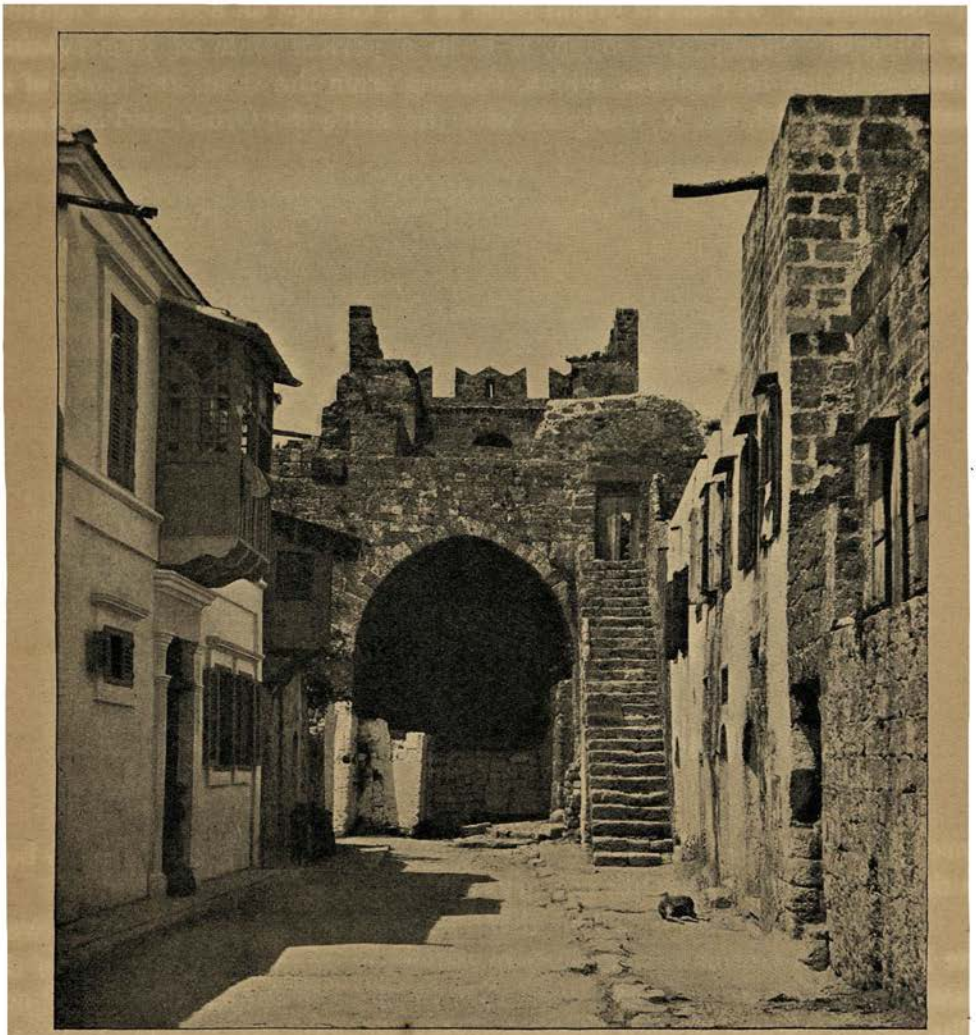

FIG. 38. St. George's Gate from the Town.

lie concealed here, and we have no doubt that these chambers formed some of the Guard-houses which Bosio says d'Aubusson built in 1501; in that year, indeed, the Grand Master was Generalissimo of the League of Christendom against the Turks got up by Pope Alexander VI, and left

Rhodes in command of the fleet of that League. A great quantity of stone and iron shot lies in one of the rooms to the right, put there out of the way, we believe, by the conquering Turks. On the face of St. George's bastion is a large square slab of grey marble framed in stone with the inevitable rope-ornament. It bears a grand relief of St. George on horseback fighting the Dragon. Strangely enough, it is in a perfect state of preservation. Underneath are four shields, which, starting from the right, are those of de Lastic, Pope Nicholas V, ensigned with the tiara, the Order, and de Lastic

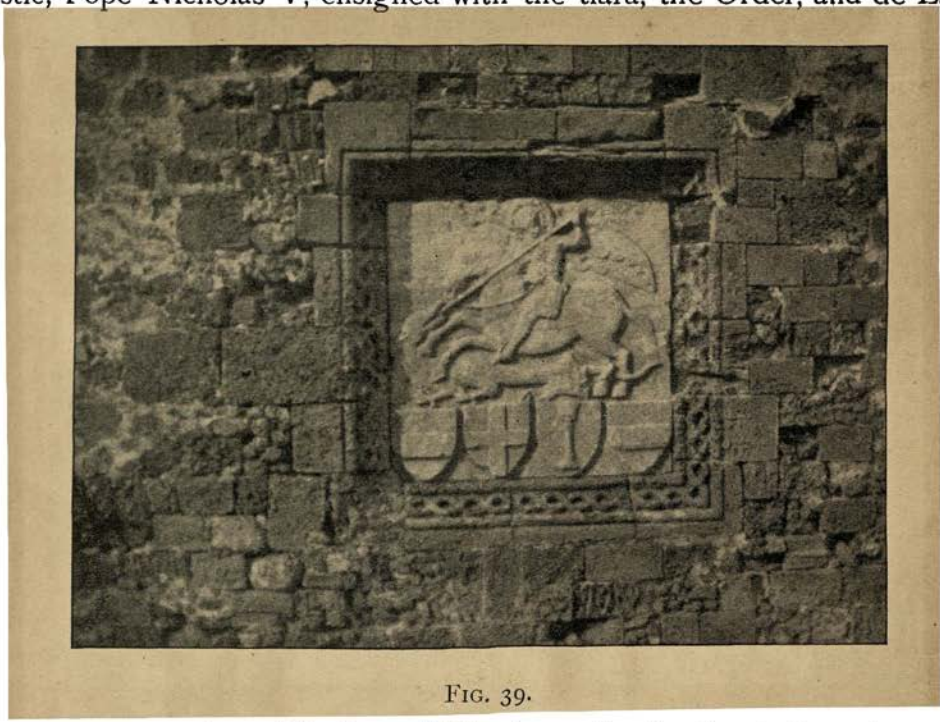

FIG. 39.

once more, or perhaps Fluvian. This shows the bastion to have been built in the middle of the fifteenth century (Fig. 39).

Bosio and Fontanus tell us that in 1521 some dispute arose between the Knights of Germany and those of Auvergne as to the possession of this bastion. This gave rise to a good deal of ill feeling amongst the Knights. The Grand Master, finding himself unable to settle the dispute, decided to lay the case before the General Chapter of the Order, and in the meantime gave orders that his own banner and that of Religion, which bore *a crucifix on a black field semy of gold stars*, should fly over the bastion. We may mention here that the standard of the Tongue of Germany was white with a black double-headed eagle.

When the Turks besieged Rhodes in 1522 the first attack was directed

against the walls of Germany, because the town was commanded on this side by St. Stephen's Mount; it is hard to understand why none of the Grand Masters ever thought of fortifying this post. The Turks placed a battery of twenty guns on the rising ground opposite the Amboise Gate on the spot where two windmills were, and are still. These opened fire on what the gunners thought the weakest point of the defences, but they were silenced in ten days by the guns of the fortress, some of which had been mounted on the platform of the Grand Master's Palace gate.

At St. George's Gate began the walls of Auvergne, which ran for

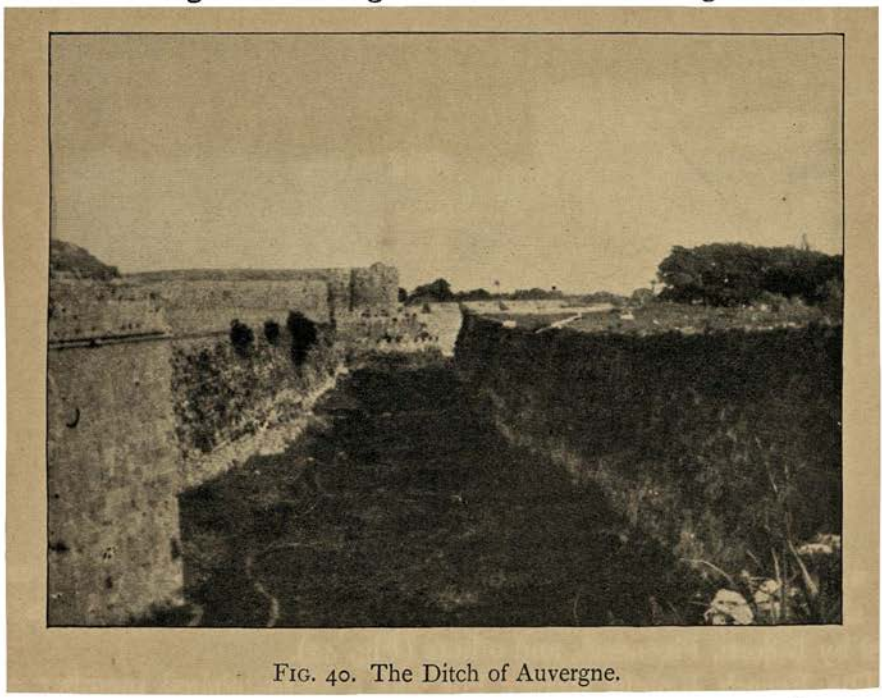

FIG. 40. The Ditch of Auvergne.

250 yards as far as the Tower of Spain inclusively, which is also called the bastion of Auvergne (Fig. 40).

In the delimitation of 1465 the Knights of Auvergne had charge of St. George's Tower instead of this one. The standard of their Tongue, the second in importance in the Order, bore a sable Dolphin, or a grayling (the 'umber-fish' of heraldry), on a gold field. The ditch of Auvergne, not having been found wide enough, was, before the last siege, broadened and deepened to ninety feet, under the supervision of l'Isle Adam, who was in the habit of inspecting the work and stimulating the workmen several times a day (Fig. 41). At the same time the Spanish Tower was, according to Bosio, remodelled with the exception of the outwork, which still bears

d' Aubusson's shield ensigned with a Cardinal's hat. It bears the date 1489 in Arabic numerals (Fig. 42).

In the wall of this outwork, and about half-way up on the north-west side, a most beautiful white marble slab, measuring some six feet by three, has been embedded lengthways. It shows in fine basso-relievo a large coat of

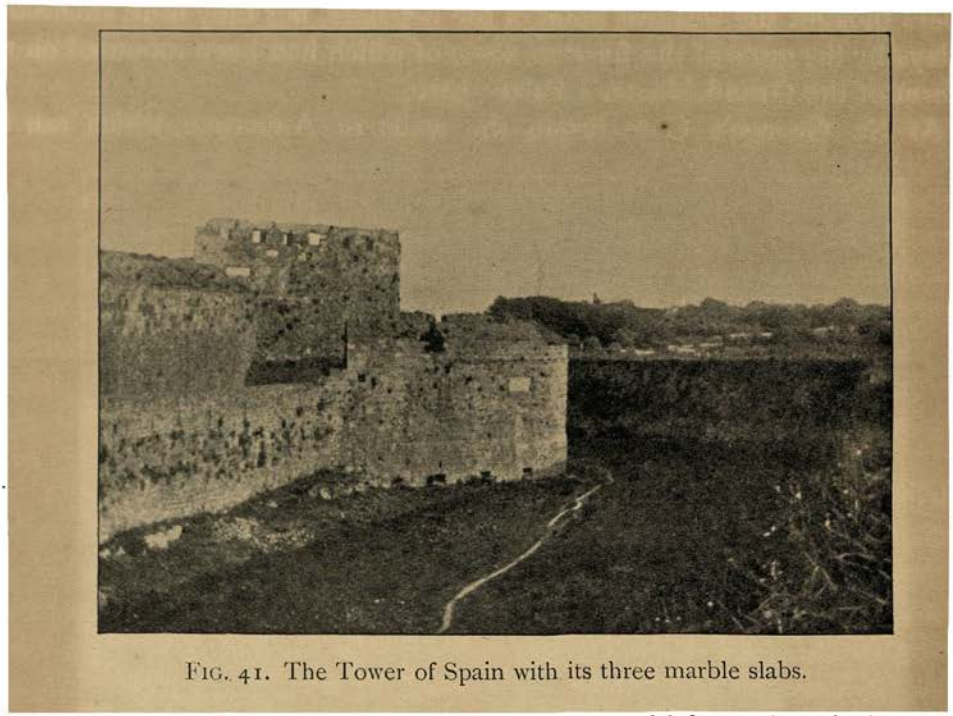

FIG. 41. The Tower of Spain with its three marble slabs.

arms with crested helm and mantling, under which an inscription can be read, slightly differing, like two others which we give below, from those copied by Biliotti, Picenardi, and others (Fig. 43).

The French Knight Renier Pot was a distinguished member of the Order and a relative of Grand Master l'Isle Adam. He died in 1498, not in 1497 as stated by Picenardi and others.

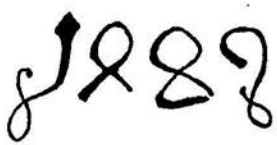

FIG. 42.

On the Tower of Spain are two other white marble slabs, also laid lengthways in the wall, but smaller than the one we have described. The first, which belongs to an English Knight, displays a coat of arms within a laurel wreath, under which is an inscription (Fig. 44).

We find another Newport, an English Knight, mentioned in Fontanus as having perished in a wreck off the coast of England in 1522 while on his way to Rhodes with help for the besieged.

The last slab bears the name of another Knight, Thomas Provana of Piedmont, Captain of the Castle of St. Peter, who was received into the

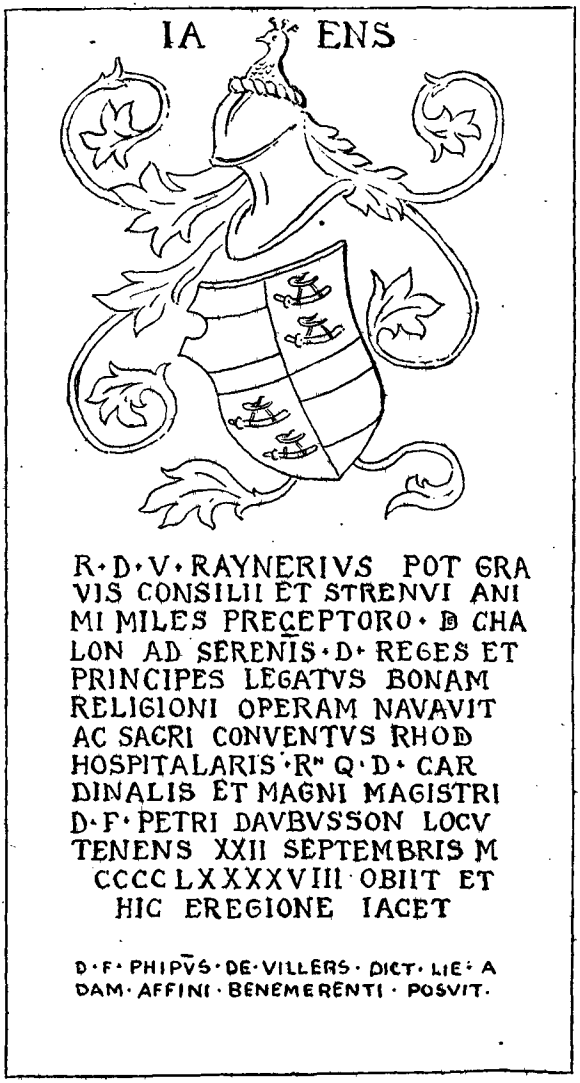

FIG 43.

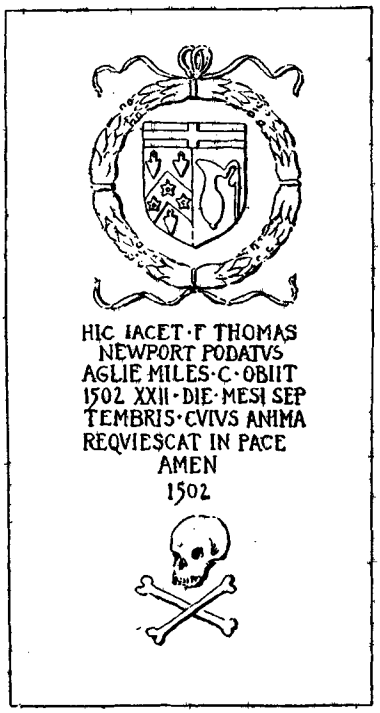

FIG. 44.

Order in 1490. His epitaph is hardly legible. We were able to decipher only the first line and the date of his death.

THOMAS PROVANA OLIM CAPIT CASTRI SCTI-PETRI
. . . OBIIT. D. 29 SEPT. 1491 . . .

Therefore he did not die in 1499 as Picenardi states. These three

stones were evidently removed by the Turks from a church or chapel near by, and fixed into the wall as an ornament, or else to fill a gap, when it was repaired after the last bombardment.

To return to the ditch of Auvergne, Bosio tells us that in 1513, when an attack of the Turks was feared, the entrance into a mine here was blocked. There is at present in the counterscarp a kind of subterranean passage which may have been the said entrance. Also near where the bastion of Aragon begins we found a small underground fountain, which evidently existed at the time of the Knights, for we were able to trace on the ceiling and walls of its vaulted covering several mediaeval designs of ships and crosses. There are no shields along the walls of Auvergne, which shows that they were battered down during the last siege. When attacking this portion of the defences, the Turks, starting about 200 yards away, built an enormous earth embankment, parallel to the walls, which they pushed forward right up to the glacis, notwithstanding that thousands of their workmen were killed by the guns on the ramparts, and also during sallies made by the besieged. On this work guns were mounted that fired point-blank into the city.

The Knights Raymond Roger and Jean du Mesnil commanded the post of Auvergne in the siege of 1522. On the 24th of September they had to repulse a serious assault, during which several Knights were killed. The Turks on the same day managed to explode two mines that made breaches in the wall, through which they tried in vain to storm the post. The attack was renewed on the 30th of November, again without success. At the beginning of December the Turks sent a Christian renegade, one Monile of Genoa, to parley with the defenders. He stood on the glacis opposite the bastion of Auvergne, and tried to persuade the Knights that the place would soon be untenable. But they would not listen to him, and when two days later he came again they warned him off, threatening to fire if he attempted any further parleying.

The walls of Auvergne made a brave defence, and this position was of great help to that of Aragon, which had eventually to be abandoned to the Turks.

VII

THE WALLS OF ARAGON OR SPAIN

We come now to the most interesting part of the ramparts, the walls of the Knights of Aragon, whose banner bore *On a field or the four pales gules* of Aragon, impaling for Navarre *Gules, a cross, a saltire, and an orle, of chains, all linked together, or*. The Tongue of Aragon, the fourth in the Order, was composed of Knights of Catalonia, Aragon, and Navarre. Their

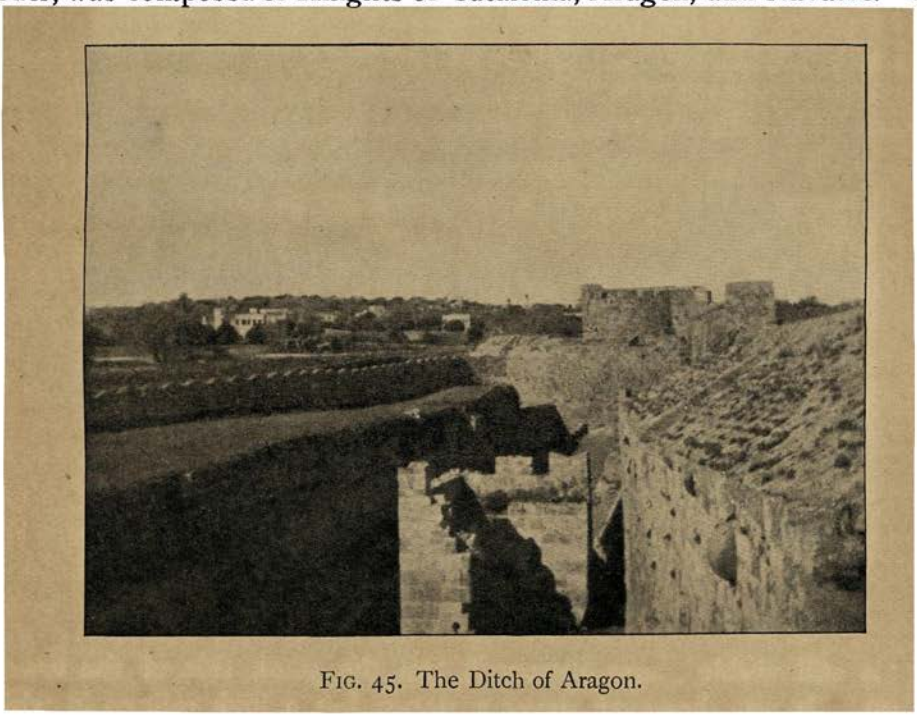

Fig. 45. The Ditch of Aragon.

post ran for 200 yards between the Tower of Spain exclusively to St. Mary's Tower inclusively (Fig. 45).

Here again not a shield can be found, which proves how much the wall suffered during the siege of 1522. A glance at our map shows that there is here a re-entering angle. This is the spot where the Turks managed, after a heroic resistance on the part of the Knights, to pass the breach and establish themselves inside the rampart, an achievement which ultimately brought about the surrender of the town.

The post of Aragon was always one of the weak points of the fortifications. The glacis was here almost on a level with the top of the walls, which is certainly a disadvantage, and the fosse was narrow. When Basilio della Scola overhauled the defences he had the ditch widened and a pentagonal terre-plein built into it, which unhappily turned out very useful to the Turks in the last siege.

St. Mary's Tower, otherwise the bastion of Aragon, was so called from an image of the Holy Virgin which adorns it. The niche in which this

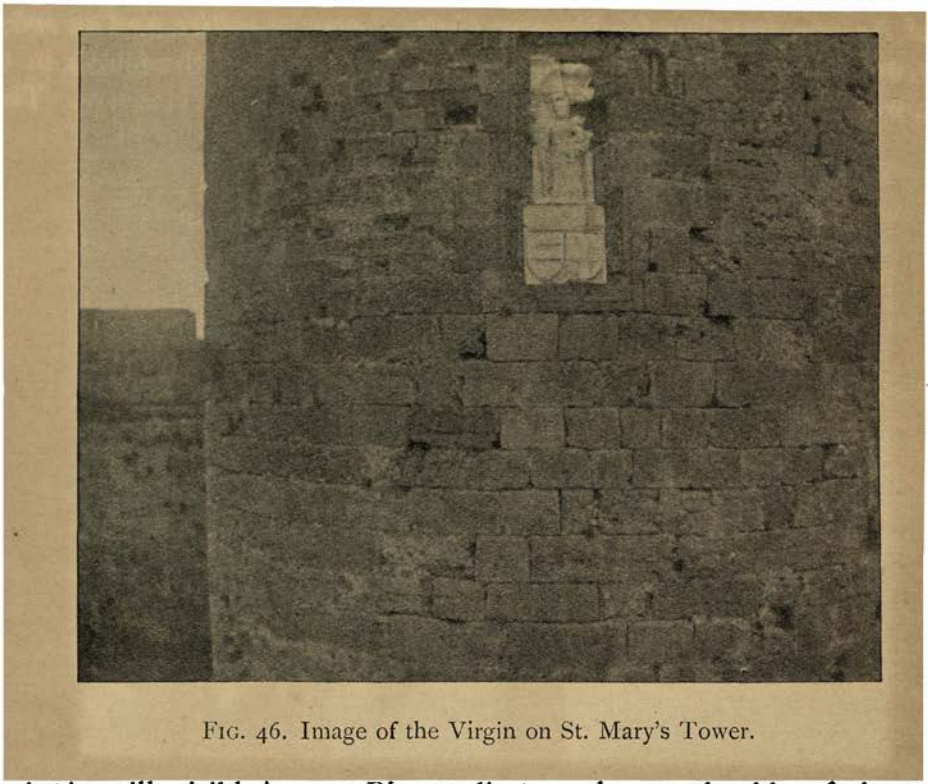

FIG. 46. Image of the Virgin on St. Mary's Tower.

stood 'is still visible', says Picenardi, 'on the south side of the tower' (Fig. 46). It was, however, never a statue, but a high relievo in white marble, and is there to this day, although the Virgin and Child have been sadly injured by bullets. Directly under the niche is an inscription, which has never to our knowledge been copied before (Fig. 47).

The tower, therefore, dates from 1400; at least it was begun in that year, but completed, we believe, by Grand Master de Lastic, whose shield appears coupled with that of the Order exactly under this inscription. A gate once stood here, which some call the Gate of St. Athanasios, adding that it is a corruption of Anastasios, the name of the Greek suburb outside the

town to which it led. But there is no doubt that Athanasios is correct, as a basso-relievo in grey marble representing this particular saint appears

Fig. 47.

close by on the face of a square protruding tower of the walls of England, to which we shall come presently.

One would expect this gate to have been called St. Mary's, after the tower. From an examination of the ravelin defending its bastion and

Fig. 48. St. Mary's Tower.

approach we should say that it was an earlier outwork converted into a ravelin (Fig. 48). Yet, curious to say, a shield of Grand Master Orsini is found over a gateway in the ditch which led into the town. We cannot account for its being there, as Orsini seems to have done no work or repairs on this

side of the fortifications. The road passed immediately under St. Mary's Tower and is only walled up on the city side, as at St. George's Gate. There is not the slightest doubt that the Gate of St. Athanasios stood here, and we cannot imagine how Mr. Torr, who is generally well informed, could have ignored the fact. This gate was walled up, presumably in 1486, by d'Aubusson after the siege of 1480, when all the fortifications were overhauled. The following inscription, which we have discovered on the barbican of St. Mary's Tower, and which apparently has not been copied before, would seem to prove it (Fig. 49).

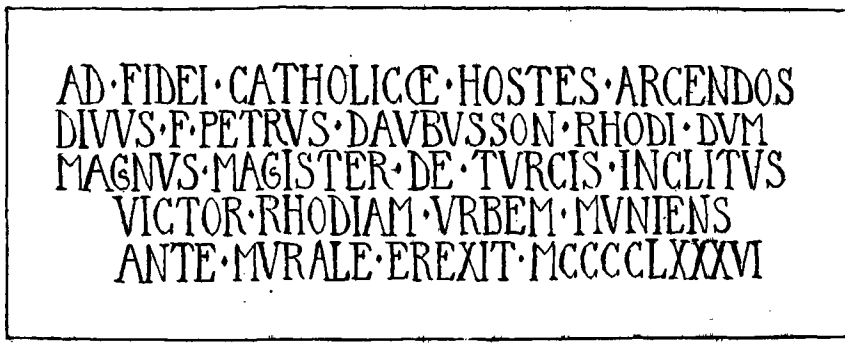

FIG. 49.

This stands under d'Aubusson's shield with its supporters, the Lion and the Griffin, but it is unusual not to see here also the shield of the Order. The wall seems, however, to have been roughly repaired, and the second shield may have been left unreplaced after the repairs. The Gate of St. Athanasios appears to have been opened again during the last siege, as Bosio tells us that in July, 1522, certain Knights got leave from the Grand Master to clear it, and were in this way able to effect a very successful sortie, which much enraged the Sultan, as it happened during a truce. In any case, close to the inscription we have just recorded is another in Turkish, the translation of which is as follows (Fig. 50):—

'The Sultan has ordered by *firman* to Miri Lira Abdul Gelil, Son of Isfendiar, to close this gate with a wall. God save the life of Sultan Suleiman. 937.' (Fig. 51.)

937 Turkish era is our 1522. Picenardi, who copied this inscription out of Biliotti, gives a translation of it, but omits the date.

Some have said that the gate was closed by order of the Sultan on account of the breach of the truce, and others because through it he made his triumphal entrance into the town, and no one is supposed to enter a cap-

tured city by the same gate as the Sultan. This of course is all fancy. The inscription makes no mention of any such reasons, and we have also

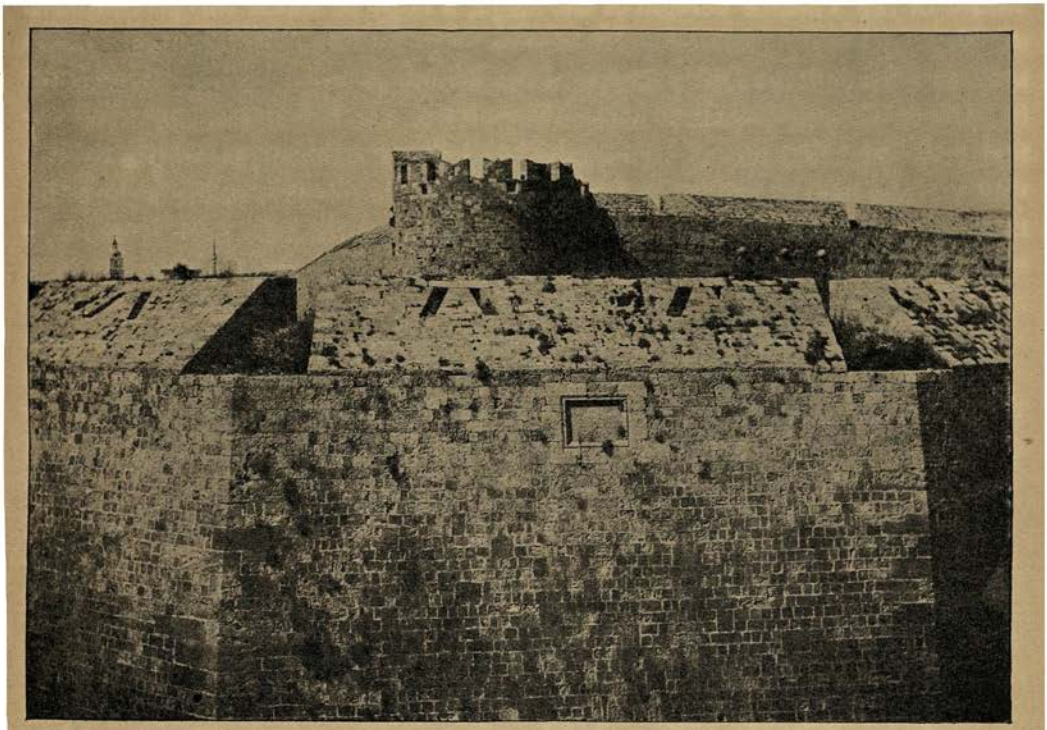

FIG. 50. St. Mary's Tower, and Outwork showing Turkish inscription.

been informed by a high Turkish official that nowhere in the Empire has there been an instance of a gate having been closed for such a reason. The Gate of Athanasios was closed after the siege because it was not wanted; it had not been in use for years before, and it would no doubt have cost a great deal to rebuild and fortify it. Nowhere can we find, and no author has ever mentioned with certainty, the name of the gate through which the Sultan made his first entry and also his state entry into the town. Some modern writers say that he went in through the breach made in the wall of Aragon, because that breach proved the cause of the eventual surrender. But we doubt whether

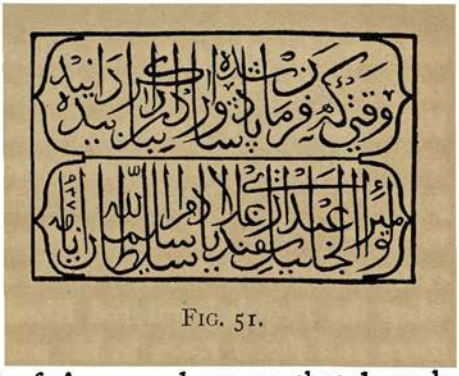

FIG. 51.

a road fit for a Sultan could have been made over the immense pile of masonry from the fallen walls. Others, and amongst them the unknown author of the Turkish version of the siege, a copy of which was presented to the Turkish library founded at Rhodes in 1792 by Ahmed Hafouz, secretary to one of the Sultans and a native of the island, mention both Amboise and St. John's Gate as possibly being the point of the Sultan's entry. But we feel convinced that he rode through the Gate of Athanasios, which, by the way, was the nearest to the spot where his tent was pitched, and therefore the most convenient to his purpose. In this instance the taking of Rhodes is not so very remote. It happened only three hundred and eighty-five years ago. The event is therefore comparatively recent, and the details of this great deed could have been transmitted from father to son through no more than nine or ten generations of sleepy Rhodian Turks. What interested them most was no doubt all that concerned their Padishah or Sultan. It would not be surprising, therefore, to come across fairly correct information through some old legend.

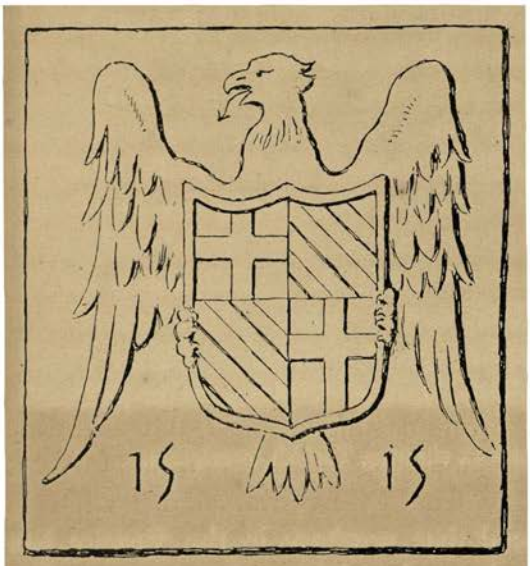

FIG. 52.

One day, when examining the city side of the Gate of Athanasios, which is ornamented with a fine shield of Carretto supported by an eagle and inscribed with the date 1515 (Fig. 52), we came across an old Turkish woman who was carrying a jar to be filled at a fountain hard by. Curious to know what the gate was called by the Turks we questioned her on the subject. She said at first that amongst her people it went by the name of Kadee Kapoo, or the Mosque Gate, because close to it there is a small chapel of the Knights, with a curious outside platform reached by stone steps, where possibly some high officer or a chaplain stood when a detachment went out to fight. The old woman added that it was also called Guiool Capoosee, or the Gate of the Roses. This struck us as peculiar till she explained that when the Padishah entered Rhodes through this gate the people gathered there and threw roses in his path. There is nothing improbable in this except that roses are not plentiful in winter even in Rhodes, but there might have been some, mixed with other flowers. We have no doubt that

the Sultan did pass through this gate, and also perhaps through Kyzil Kapoo, or St. John's Gate, at his state entry.

Nothing worth speaking of was attempted by the Turks in 1480 against this part of the town. But early during the last siege they possessed themselves of the ditch in front of the terre-plein, and lowered into it three large mortars, with which they fired enormous stone shot into the city and also upon the bastion, demolishing it in such a manner that its ruins filled the fosse. The Turks were then able to climb over the *débris* and to get on to the terre-plein. Desperate attempts were made by the Knights to prevent them from establishing themselves there, during which many of their number perished, amongst whom were Jean Barbaran, captain of the post, whose place was taken by Juan de Omedes, a future Grand Master, who later on was disabled by a wound in the eye. The commander of the bastion, Francisco de Escarieres, soon found it untenable, as all repairs attempted under the supervision of Engineer Tadino were frustrated by the terrific fire of the Turks. But the embrasures at the foot of the tower were kept clear of *débris*. Mustapha Pacha, who was directing the operations on this side of the town, had made forty-five mines here, an operation carried out under very great difficulties, as several got flooded and others had to be driven through hard rock. Some were exploded on the 4th, 17th, and 24th of September, and widened the breaches in the walls of Auvergne, Aragon, and England. Assaults followed immediately, which were, however, repulsed at all points. The walls of Aragon suffered most, but were well defended by the Knights of that Tongue and those of Catalonia and Castile; while the Knights of Auvergne, commanded by du Mesnil and Tadino, in the Tower of Spain directed their guns on the enemy's flanks, during these attacks, with deadly effect. The last of these assaults was the most impetuous. The *élite* of the Turkish army and a great number of Janizaries, headed by forty standard-bearers, 'rushed' the breach of Aragon, and, notwithstanding the heroic defence of the Knights, the wall was in great peril of being taken. In fact it was held by the Turks for three hours, and would have been finally lost if the Grand Master, who was on the walls of England close by, had not come to the rescue. The French Knights, amongst them Jacques de Bourbon, who left a diary of the siege, distinguished themselves on this occasion. The enemy failed in their assault on the three other points of the ramparts on the same day and lost 15,000 men killed and wounded.

It is said that after this failure the Sultan, despairing of ever taking Rhodes, had already given orders to raise the siege, when, on the private advice of Andrea d'Amaral, Chancellor of the Order, who represented that

the town could not possibly hold out much longer, he changed his mind, and the siege was resumed with renewed vigour.

D'Amaral was, however, suspected of treason, and on the evidence of a Greek priest, and of one of his valets, who had been seen shooting an arrow with a letter attached to it into the Turkish lines, was condemned to be dismissed the Order, beheaded, and quartered; and a portion of his body was ordered to be exposed on each bastion. His execution was carried out on November 18. D'Amaral protested his innocence to the last. He raved against his judges' verdict, and refused the consolations of religion. When a figure of the Virgin was presented to him on his way to the scaffold, he cursed those who were carrying it and bade them take away 'that log'. D'Amaral, a powerful member of the Order, was known to have become soured at not being chosen as Grand Master in preference to the cautious l'Isle Adam, whose policy he was wont to criticize. It is possible that at ordinary times judgement would not have been passed upon him on the simple deposition of his valet and the belated evidence of the priest; but after so many months of hardship and high tension, the garrison and his judges, placing the public safety before all other considerations, were only too ready to turn suspicion into certainty.

There was a belief at the time that d'Amaral had concealed some powder in the vaults of St. John's Church, in order to shorten the siege by curtailing the supply of powder. But this is hardly credible; or, if true, would have been exposed after his death and before the end of the siege. It is certain, however, that powder was lying stored in these vaults as late as 1856, when, ignited by lightning, it caused a disastrous explosion which destroyed the church of St. John, the Palace, and many buildings and houses round. In connexion with this we have been told by an old inhabitant, who had it from his father, that some French prisoners in Rhodes, during Napoleon's expedition in Egypt and Syria, had found powder there when doing clearing work for the Turks. But a passage, or staircase, having collapsed, it could not be got at without a great deal of trouble and so was left. Where it came from, or how long it had been there, no one seemed to know. We are, therefore, unwilling to accept Picenardi's statement that the Turks were successful in boring a mine that penetrated as far as St. John's Church, fully 150 yards inside the wall, and that powder had probably been left forgotten in its chamber.

Returning now to the siege, its conduct after the last unsuccessful assault was given to a new general Bacha Ahmed, who began to batter down and undermine the bastion of Aragon. The Turks at the same time

managed to approach the walls by means of covered trenches, but this was not done without immense loss of life, as the guns of Auvergne swept that part of the ditch. Hand-grenades were thrown and gunpowder was exploded by the Knights with such effect that Ahmed adopted the common device of protecting his men with planks on which, after the old Roman fashion, fresh ox hides had been nailed inside out to preserve the woodwork from fire. His sappers and miners were therefore soon able to make the barbican of Spain untenable. The besieged in the meantime, seeing the wall crumbling away

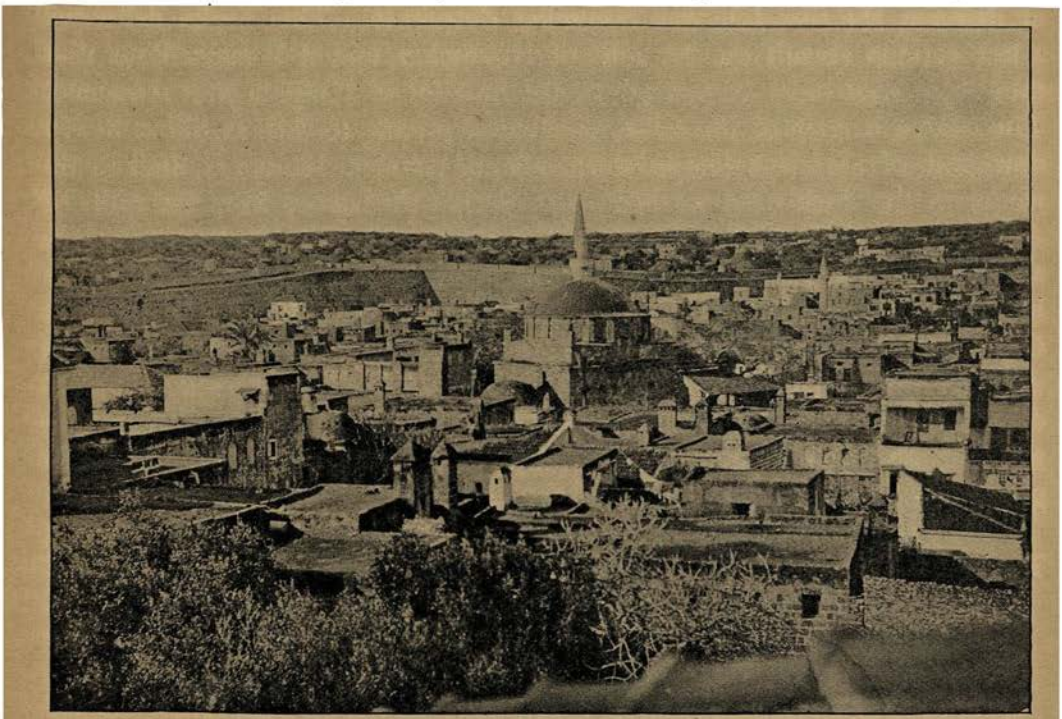

FIG. 53. View of the Walls of Aragon, showing where the Turks entered the City.

under the terrific artillery fire, and being unable to defend it any longer, had hastily put up, about 60 yards inside and parallel with it, a new line of defence, which the Turks in derision called *mandria*, or cattle-enclosure. For this, houses were bought and demolished, and the reserve money in the Treasury was spent lavishly. Moreover, this work was also covered by a battery of three guns, mounted on rising ground close to the bastion of England, where at the time two windmills stood, one of which remains to this day. Barricades and trenches were also made in the streets around. But the Turks, having succeeded in almost completely destroying the walls

of Aragon, were soon able to fire point-blank into the new works and rapidly to pour in numbers of fresh men, who were, however, as rapidly dispatched by the Knights (Fig. 53).

Martinengo, the soul of the defence, was badly wounded in the eye while superintending affairs. The Grand Master then established his quarters close by and remained in command till the end of the siege. But workmen were getting scarce in the town, and as the bastion of Italy was in almost as bad a state as that of Aragon and also itself needed a second line of defence, the situation was becoming desperate. The Turks delivered a last serious assault on the 30th of November, and it is marvellous that they were once more beaten off by the handful of Knights that remained. The above battery of the mills contributed greatly to this, as did a heavy downpour of rain which damped the assailants' powder. Moreover, their earthworks in the ditch were washed away, so that the battery from the walls of Auvergne was able to fire into their left flank. The slaughter was terrible and their loss extremely severe. Yet from that moment Rhodes was practically lost. On the 7th of December the Turks attacked the barbican, where the Grand Master had his head quarters. Unsuccessful that day, they returned the following day in greater numbers than ever, and were at last able to drive the Knights out of it and behind their new works. It was then that negotiations began for the surrender of the place. Of these it is outside our province to speak.

The site of the *mandria* is still easily seen from the top of the walls. The houses there are fewer and smaller than elsewhere in the town.

VIII

THE WALLS OF ENGLAND

THE walls of England ran for 450 yards from St. Athanasios's Gate or St. Mary's Tower exclusively to St. John's Gate and Tower inclusively. This was the post of the English Knights whose banner bore the lys and lions of their nation (Fig. 54).

It is still in a fair state of preservation and bears many shields, eight

FIG. 54. The Ditch of England.

of de Lastic, one of de Milly, one of d'Aubusson. We have no doubt that de Lastic built the walls and the Gate of St. Athanasios about 1445, and that de Milly and Zacosta are responsible for St. John's Gate. Carretto, despite Mr. Torr, only repaired the inside of the walls, and his shield, supported by an eagle, is set over the Gate of St. Athanasios. Another shield of his appears, it is true, on the outside face of the ramparts, but it is

near the battlements, and one can easily see that it was put there when the wall was repaired by the Turks.

As we have said, it is surprising that Mr. Torr could have believed that St. John's and St. Athanasios's Gates were one. Moreover, there can be no possible mistake about the name of the latter, which he believes to be a clerical error for Anastasios, for, as we have already pointed out, to this day it can be read on the large grey marble slab that ornaments a square

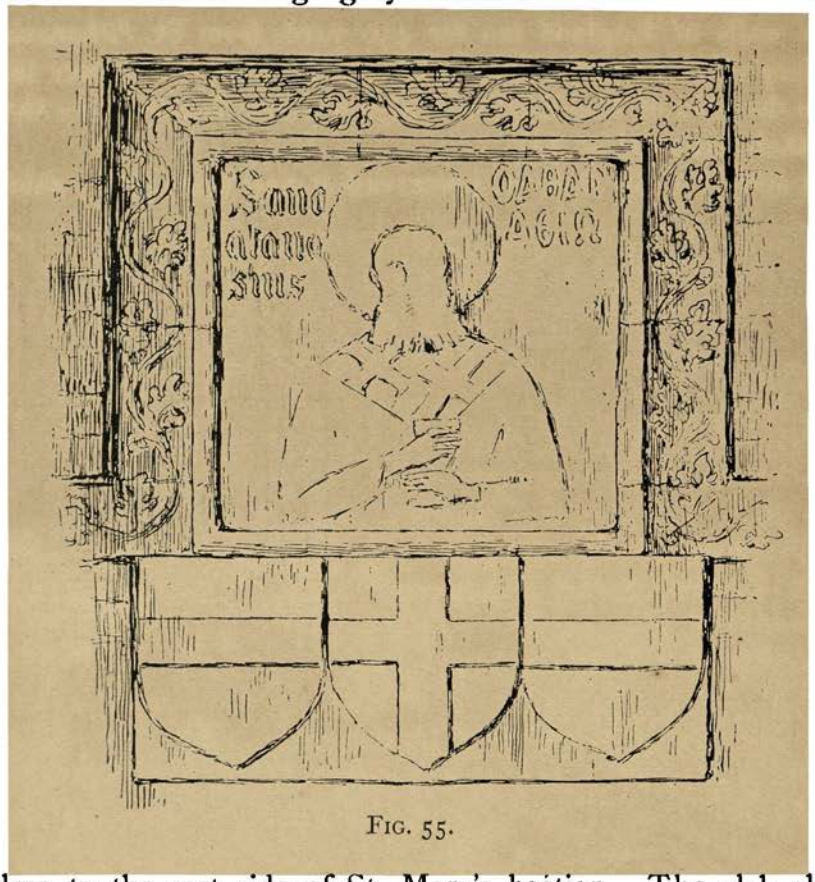

FIG. 55.

tower close to the east side of St. Mary's bastion. The slab shows the figure of a saint of a Byzantine type. Below are three shields, that of the Order with de Lastic's on either side of it (Fig. 55). All this is conclusive. Besides this tower there are three others of the same style, and between the last two can be seen an interesting basso-relievo, also in grey marble, representing a saint in full armour, in which we have very probably a likeness of d'Aubusson, whose shield, coupled with that of the Order, is underneath this image. The whole is framed in a stone moulding and ornamented with the rope-pattern (Fig. 56).

On the face of the last tower are stone shields of de Lastic and the Order side by side. These are the only stone shields to be found in the whole round of the ramparts; all the others are marble. They show numerous bullet-holes, and this part of the walls seems also to have been much fired at. The tower itself, from its irregular position, is evidently a relic of the earliest fortifications.

As to St. John's, also called Koskeenoo Gate, after a neighbouring village of that name, its architecture shows it to be a building of the early fifteenth century. We ascribe it to de Milly, but believe slight repairs to have been done to it by Zacosta (Fig. 57).

FIG. 56.

The whole length of the English walls is strengthened by a terre-plein which continues round St. John's Tower, so that one has to cross two ditches to get into the town. This work, says Bosio, was made in 1520 by Engineer Basilio della Scola in the time of Grand Master Carretto. This led Mr. Torr to think that the whole of the gate is due to him. But Bosio must be wrong, as the only shields to be found on the terreplein are those of d'Aubusson, of which we counted five. The entrance into the city through St. John's Gate is as crooked as that through Amboise Gate. The road winds under three gateways. The first postern is reached by a double-arched bridge and a drawbridge over the first ditch. Above the gateway are shields of d'Aubusson and the Order, and over them is a bust of St. John in a triangle filled with flamboyant ornaments (Fig. 58).

After going through a curving vaulted passage the road crosses the second ditch over a single-arched stone bridge. Here is a gate ornamented with shields of Zacosta and the Order. This gate, a simple archway, is the only portion of the works in this quarter which can be ascribed to that Grand Master. The road from this point goes round St. John's Tower, which is square, and on the front of which is seen a figure of the saint much battered about the face and holding in his left hand a scroll on which 'Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi' can be read, although much worn. Rottiers gave a fanciful sketch of this saint and only half the

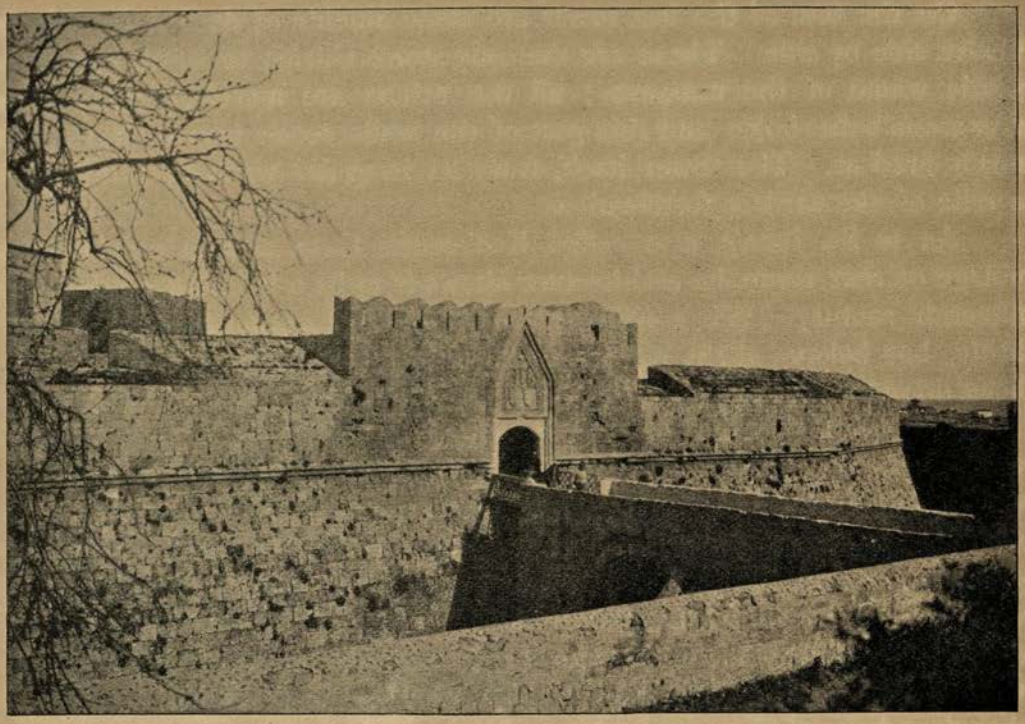

FIG. 57. St. John's Gate.

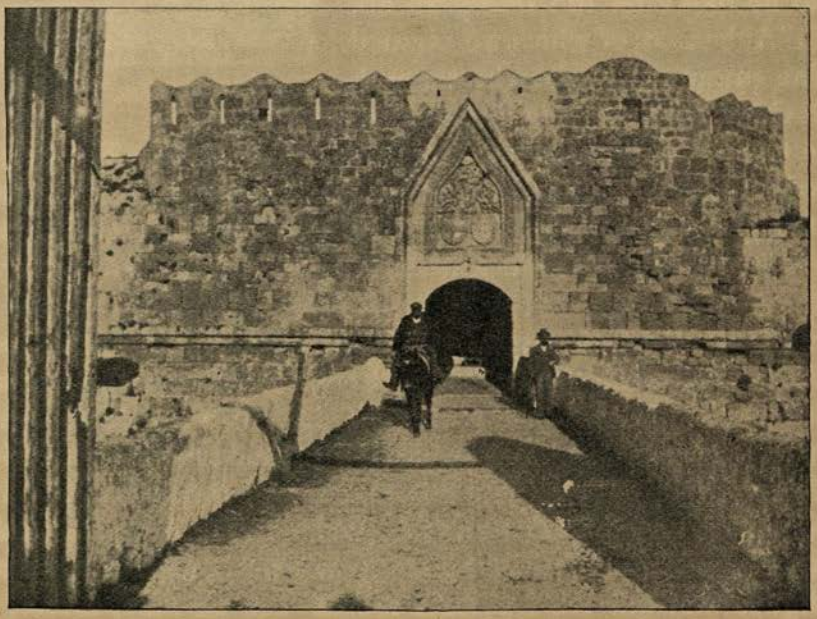

FIG. 58. St. John's Gate.

inscription, and he has been copied in this by modern authors. On either side of the head of the figure are the letters O S and B B, the meaning of which we do not understand. Below the slab we have just described is another bearing three shields, that of the Order between two of de Lastic's (Fig. 59).

Then comes the last postern, really the city gate, over which one sees the shields of de Milly and of the Order, both in white marble.

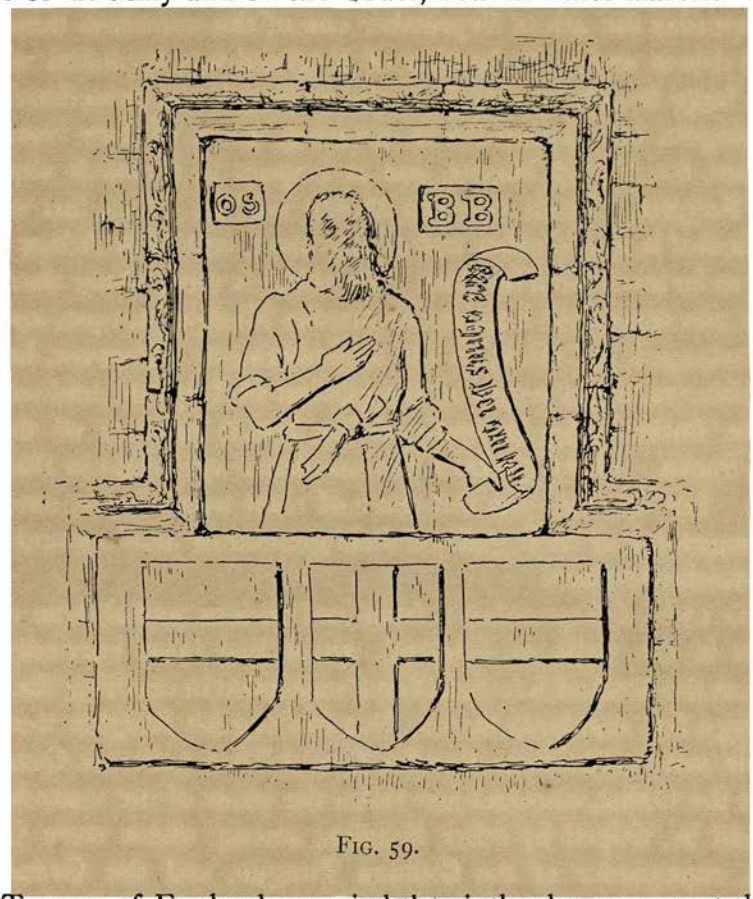

FIG. 59.

The Tongue of England occupied the sixth place amongst the nations of the Order. It can boast of a glorious page in the annals of Rhodes. During the siege of 1480 little was attempted by the Turks against this bastion. In 1522 its commander was Nicholas Hussy, and subordinate to him was William Weston, who died in London in 1540 and was buried in St. John's Church, Clerkenwell. His tomb could be seen there as late as 1798, when it was destroyed. During the last siege the bastion of England was vigorously attacked and as vigorously defended. The

Grand Master, who at first feared for the safety of the walls of Italy, had established his quarters near them, but he soon removed to the post of England and remained there during most of the siege. He appointed four of his most trusted lieutenants to watch this post in turn, and added fifty Knights to those already there. We read that a new wall, hastily erected in front of the bastion, had been entirely ruined by the Turkish artillery, but that the old ramparts resisted the bombardment.

On Saturday the 4th of September one of the numerous mines that the Turks had driven under the bastion of England was exploded with deadly effect. A large breach was made in the wall and was immediately stormed by the besiegers, who succeeded in planting seven of their banners there. L'Isle Adam, the Grand Master, was at vespers in a church close by with a body of Knights. Bosio says this church was St. John's, but we doubt it, as the cathedral is at the other end of the town, and l'Isle Adam would not have gone so far away from his post. We think it more likely that he was in the church now converted into the Doolaplee Medgid mosque, and which at the time belonged, we think, to the Benedictines. However, he hastened with his followers to the rescue of the bastion of England, and succeeded in driving the Turks away, in spite of the heroic bravery of their leader, Mustapha Pacha. Over 3,000 of the assailants were slain in this desperate encounter. But the Knights lost some of their best officers, amongst them the captain-general of their galleys, their general of artillery and the Grand Master's standard-bearer.

On the 17th of September a fresh and furious assault was made upon the breach in the walls of England, which had been hurriedly repaired. Mustapha, at the head of five battalions, succeeded in reaching the boulevard and planting a few standards there. But the English Knights were valiantly led by their commander John Bourke, Grand Turcopolier or General of the Cavalry of the Order, who had just taken the place of the wounded William Weston, and he, helped by other Knights, among whom were Christopher Waldener, commander of the German Tongue, and the Grand Prior of St. Giles, succeeded in beating back the Turks. Both Bourke and Waldener were killed on this occasion (Fig. 60).

On the 24th of September the Turks delivered assaults on four different points of the fortifications. The bastions of England, Auvergne, Aragon, and Italy had been battered during two days by a furious cannonade. The first of these was in such a miserable condition that the Grand Master was on the point of giving orders to abandon it. But realizing that if the bastion fell the Turks would soon seize St. John's Gate, he decided to hold

it at all costs, and a French Knight, Jean du Bin, who went by the nickname of Malicorne and was an officer of great experience and courage, was put in command and kept his honourable post successfully till the end of the siege. The post of England sustained four more attacks—on the 1st, 2nd, 12th, and 13th of October—all of which failed.

We may relate here the story of a beautiful Rhodian woman, beloved

FIG. 60. The Walls of England and St. Athanasios's Tower.

by an English Knight, by whom she had had two children. Hearing that he had just been killed, and believing from some alarming reports that the city was on the point of being taken, she embraced her children, blessed them, and after killing them, to save them from conversion to Islam, threw them into a burning building. Then, finding her lover's corpse, she donned his armour, rushed into the thickest of the fray to avenge him, and fell bravely fighting.

IX

THE WALLS OF PROVENCE AND OF ITALY

NEXT follow the walls of Provence. They run for 400 yards between St. John's Gate and Tower exclusively to the Tower of Italy or bastion of Provence inclusively. Some authors, however, place the Tower of Provence half-way along the walls. A glance at the map shows them to bear the

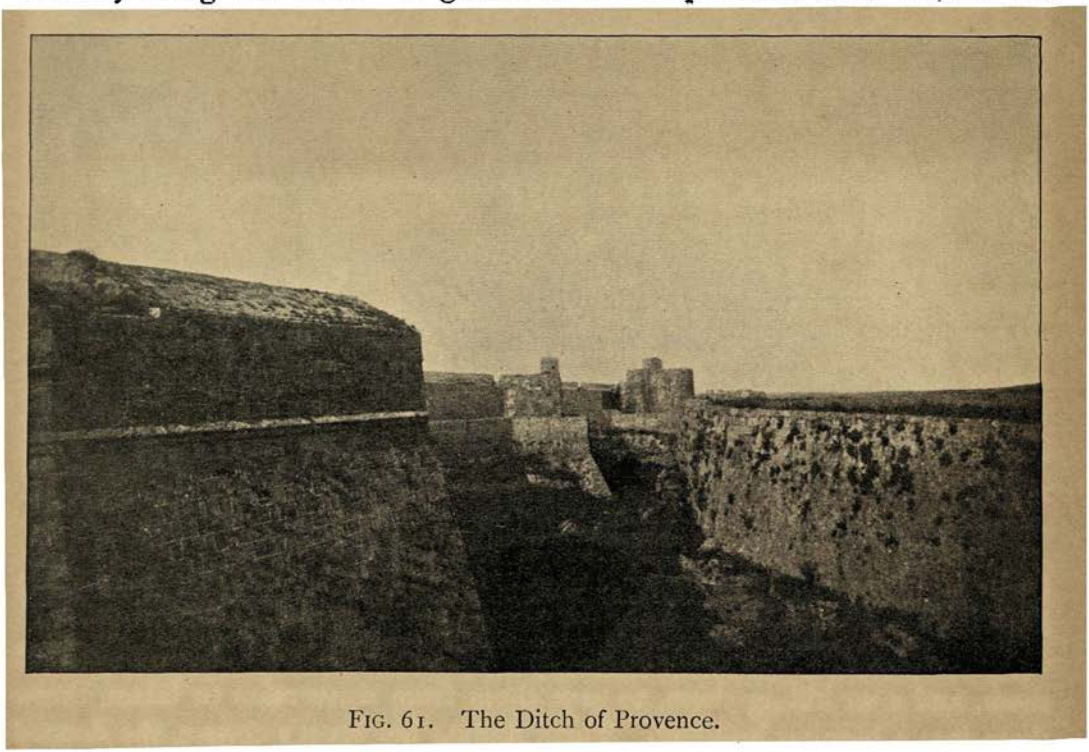

FIG. 61. The Ditch of Provence.

shields of de Milly and de Lastic. They were therefore built in the middle of the fifteenth century and repaired in the time of d'Aubusson and Carretto, as their shields also are found there. Like the walls of Aragon and Auvergne, they have a long stretch of new masonry which bears witness to hard fighting (Fig. 61).

The so-called Tower of Italy seems to have been built later by Basilio della Scola, the well-known engineer of the Order. It is adorned with

three large shields of Carretto quartered with that of the Order, two of which are on the outwork. These shields are inscribed with the date 1515.

The ditch of Provence is particularly wide and deep. The walls are flanked by one round and two square towers. One of these, standing curiously detached from the wall, like the Tower of Heredia on the ramparts of France, and like that with the stone shields in the walls of England, is certainly part of the earliest fortifications. A *fausse braye* runs the whole length of the walls of Provence. Standing on the glacis near St. John's Gate one gets an uninterrupted view of the ditch. The picture of this quarter of a mile of stately walls is particularly impressive, and may well be

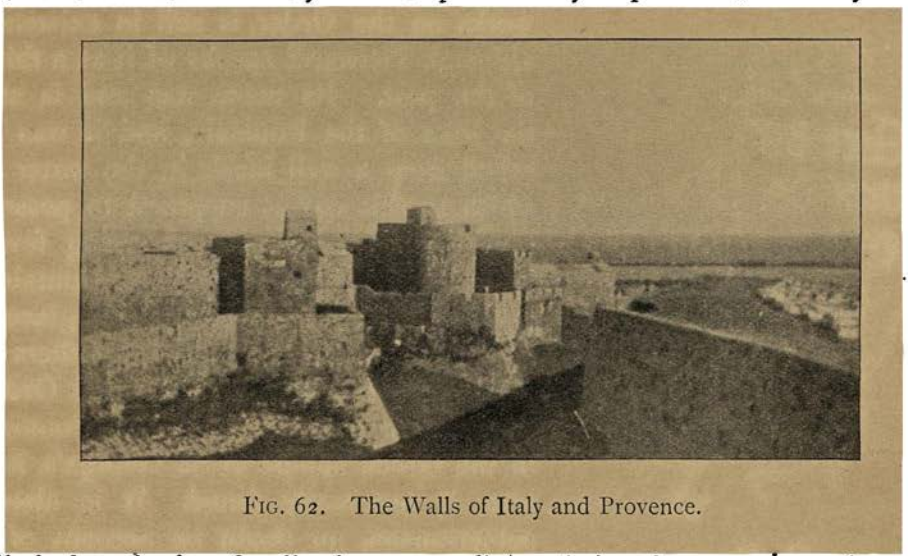

FIG. 62. The Walls of Italy and Provence.

called the abode of solitude, as no living being is ever seen there, and no sound ever breaks the silence which has reigned there for centuries (Fig. 62).

The white standard of the Tongue of Provence, the first and most powerful of the nations of the Order, displayed the five gold crosses of Jerusalem in memory of its first Grand Master and Founder, Brother Gerard, who belonged to this province. There is not very much to be said about the fighting that took place here. The walls of Provence were strong, and during the second siege the Turks found that, although a battery of three of their largest guns succeeded in making a wide breach in them, it was soon repaired and the wall strengthened inside the town, to be demolished and repaired again and again till the end of the siege. In July the Turks, by means of a movable mantlet, succeeded in establishing close to the

walls a few of their light ordnance, which were a source of great annoyance to the Knights of Provence, and even to those of England. These were, however, ultimately silenced and the mantlet destroyed.

Mines were also driven under the wall. These were met by countermines, but one of them was successfully exploded in September, and the breach it made was assaulted by the Turks, who were, however, beaten back. Vertot, speaking of these mines, makes a curious mistake. He says that one of them began near a church of St. John, and that an engineer of the Order, named De la Fontaine, having found it by means of a countermine, drove the miners back or smothered them by throwing in hand-grenades and powder. Now this church, which is referred to in several works on the Order, is still in existence, although Picenardi speaks of it as a thing of the past. Its name was and is still St. John of the Fountain, and it was so called from a well inside it, the water of which to this day is supposed to possess the miraculous property of curing fever. The name, therefore, of De la Fontaine, given by Vertot to an officer of engineers, is a pure invention, like a few others in the famous Abbé's History of the Order. The church of St. John of the Fountain in the Greek suburb of St. George's, it is true, is not easily found. It is almost subterranean, no doubt on account of it having been built at so short a distance from the ramparts. It is reached by sixteen deep stone steps. It has a single aisle 30 feet long by 20 wide. The height of the vaulted roof is 25 feet. The building gets its light only through the door, and through a large *œil-de-bœuf* on the south side. Facing these a recess shows where the altar stood. The well, protected by a small low wall, is on the left. The walls show remains of frescoes, and we had no difficulty in finding John the Baptist holding a banner on which the above is clearly legible (Fig. 63).

Fig. 63.

In 1905 Greek workmen, employed by the parish, were clearing the floor of rubbish, the accumulation of centuries, and searching for flagstones; and when we last visited the building they were removing a number of small green glazed tiles with which the church must originally have been

paved. According to a legend discovered by Jorg Pfintzing the head of St. John was found by men who were digging a well on the site of the church.

Passing to the walls of Italy, these start from the tower of that name and extend as far as another small tower, now in ruins, which stands at the foot of the Windmills' Mole (Fig. 64).

Only two shields are found along these three hundred yards of rampart: one of Fluvian and one of Orsini. But four of Carretto, with the date 1515, are seen on the city side, where this Grand Master had the walls repaired as far as the Gate of Athanasios. The walls of Italy were the weakest point

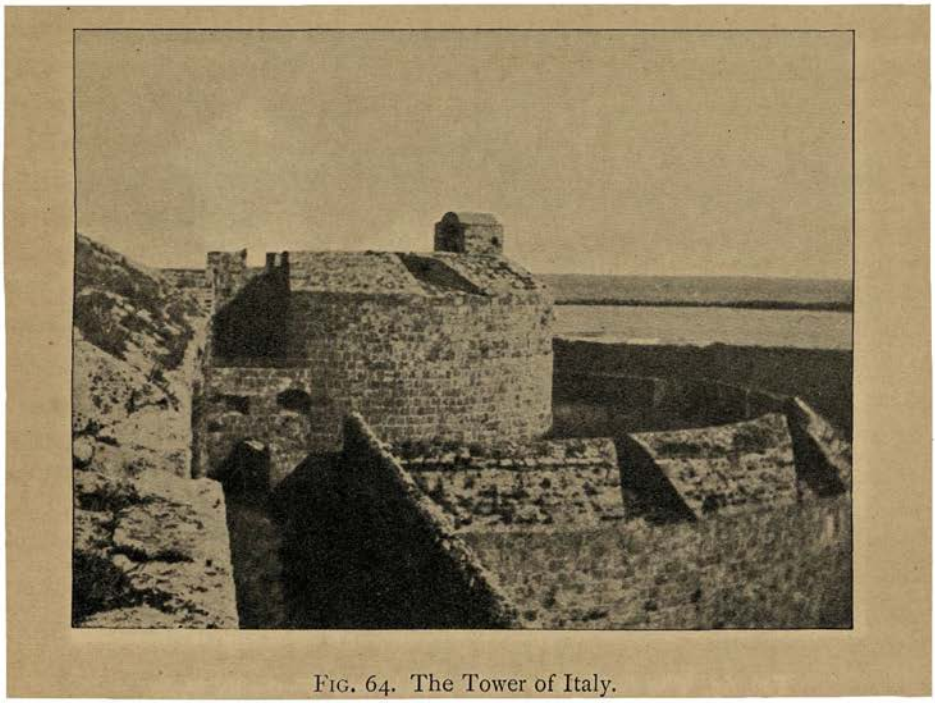

FIG. 64. The Tower of Italy.

in the whole system of fortifications, the ground being low and no ditch being possible so near the sea. In both sieges the Turks tried hard to capture the wall of Italy, or Jewish wall, so called because a large Jewish community lived, as it still lives, in that part of the town. In 1480 d'Aubusson, then Grand Master, had some houses pulled down and a deep ditch with a new brick wall, backed with thick earthworks, made inside the town. This was completed in an incredibly short time, all the inhabitants, irrespective of sex, age, or creed, stirred by the common danger, having given their help. Thus, when the Turkish cannon had demolished the first wall, another was found standing behind. Notwithstanding this, breaches

were getting bigger and the ditch gradually filled. The Italian and some Spanish Knights, harassed by continuous fighting day and night, lost heart and declared loudly that resistance was no longer possible, and that it was disgraceful of the Grand Master to let them be slaughtered in his mad idea of holding out. This coming to d'Aubusson's ears, the Knights were summoned to the palace and severely reprimanded for their conduct. Ashamed of themselves, none from that moment were braver or more eager in the defence. On July 27, 1480, the Turks made a desperate assault on the Jewish wall, and succeeded in planting their standards on the summit. But

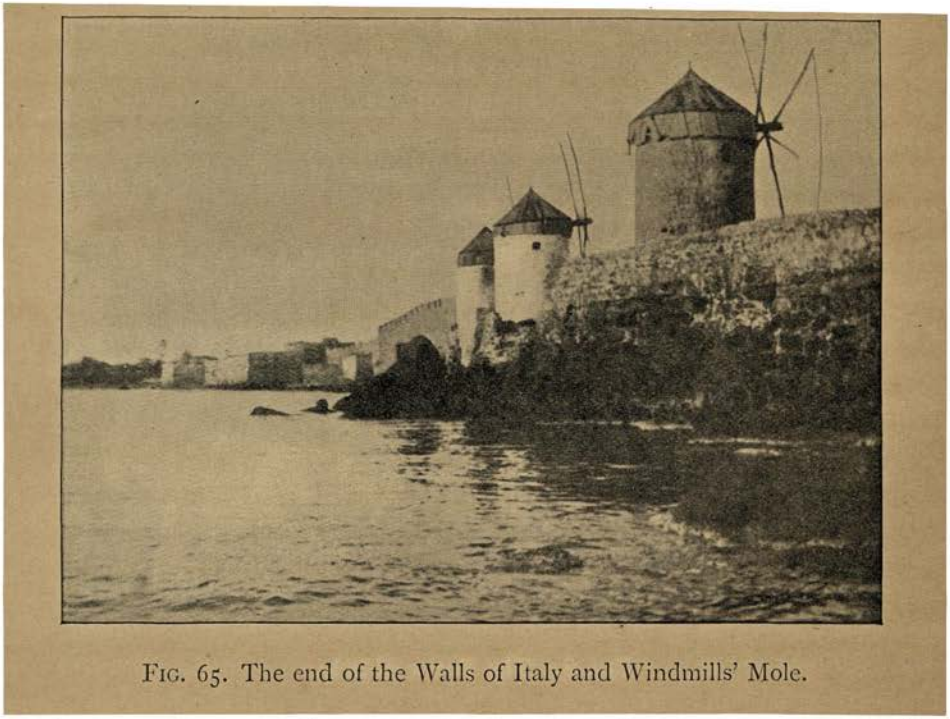

FIG. 65. The end of the Walls of Italy and Windmills' Mole.

the resistance of the Italians, headed by the Grand Master himself with a body of French Knights, was so vigorous that the enemy was at last repulsed with a loss of three thousand five hundred men. 'On that day blood flowed like water,' says a chronicler, and d'Aubusson himself received five different wounds (Fig. 65).

In 1481 alterations were made in the walls of Italy. The ditch was much widened, and it was then that the existing terre-plein was made. D'Aubusson's shields decorate it. His successors, Amboise and Carretto, were responsible for the glacis all along the ditches of Provence and Italy. The former's shield is there four times and the latter's twice. While walk

ing along the boulevard, which here is considerably reduced in width, we came across a Greek inscription in an embrasure (Fig. 66).

Near by is a small vaulted structure which might have been a chapel or an infirmary.

There is in Bosio some mention of a gate of Italy. This was probably at the east end of the town, where a double round tower is to be seen. Neither inside nor outside the walls, however, have we been able to determine the position of the alleged gate with certainty. Nor is there anywhere to be found the slab seen by Picenardi in 1899, bearing d'Aubusson's shield above a verse of Psalm ix. We examined the walls carefully in 1900, and we saw no trace of recent repairs and no place where a large flagstone could have stood..

Early during the siege of 1522 Grand Master l'Isle Adam had taken up his quarters near the post of Italy, well knowing it to be the weak point in the line of defence and sure to be hard pressed by the Turks, as it had been in 1480. But later on, since the taking of the bastion of Aragon seemed to be their principal object, he moved thither with his staff and bodyguard. The wall of Italy suffered much from the continual fire of seventeen big Turkish guns. To gain leisure for repairing the enormous breaches thus made, l'Isle Adam ordered a sortie, which was highly successful. At dawn on September 13 the Turks caught the worn-out sentinels fast asleep, and, having stormed the breach, were on the point of carrying the trenches beyond, when the Italian Knights, led by Ballai and Gentile, rushed at the enemy and kept them in check till, with the assistance of the Grand Master and his bodyguard, they were able to drive them off. In the general assault of September 24 the terre-plein of Italy was attacked, after having been battered by cannon for forty-eight consecutive hours, but, although the walls were a mass of ruins, it was not taken. Later on, Ahmed Pacha having been appointed commander-in-chief, a battery of seventeen guns was placed opposite the ramparts of Italy, which were soon destroyed in several places. Sappers, protected by a stockade of thick beams, pushed the trenches up to the foot of the walls, and removed the soil on which they stood, causing a great length of the curtain to give way. The Knights, therefore, being forced to retire further inside the city, the Grand Master reluctantly decided to destroy the beautiful church of Our Lady of the Victory, built by d'Aubusson in commemoration of the successful issue of the last siege, and also part

ΥΜΕΝΑΙΟΥ ΕΦΕΣ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ
ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΕΦΕΣ ΜΕ ΚΑΙ
ΤΩΝ ΥΙΩΝ ΑΥΤΩΝ
ΣΩΣΙΓΟΛΙΟΣ ΕΦΕΣ ΚΑΙ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΒΟΥΛΟΥ ΕΦΕΣ

FIG. 66.

of the Greek church of St. Pantaleon, erected at the same time. Both these churches stood close to the walls, and their material was used for barricades and for building the second line of defence. Meanwhile the bombardment continued. On November 22 the Turks, who were in possession of most of the terre-plein, attempted to occupy the rest. One of their regiments rushed up the end nearest the sea, while another tried to pass the ditch; but they found the Knights prepared to receive them, and had to retire. A few days later they returned again, more numerous and determined than ever. Thousands of Turks perished during these assaults, while the Knights lost the brave François de Tresnay, captain of their big galley. On the 30th of the same month another attempt was made to storm the terre-plein, while the rest of the besieging army was attacking the bastion of Aragon. Once more the Turks had to retire, beaten off as much by the valour of the Knights as by the rain which that day came down in torrents. After this, and till the end of the siege, the walls of Italy were only half-heartedly attacked.

The banner that floated over the bastion of that Tongue was black, with *Italia* embroidered across it in gold. The Tongue of Italy was the fourth in the Order, and gave two Grand Masters to the Knights while in Rhodes.

X

THE WALLS OF CASTILE—ST. CATHERINE'S GATE—THE HARBOUR—THE ENGLISH CHAPEL OF ST. GEORGE

NEXT we reach the walls of Castile (Fig. 67). These encircle part of the harbour, and start from the small round tower at the south-east corner of the town, which was partially wrecked during the earthquake of 1863, and they extend as far as Naillac's Tower.

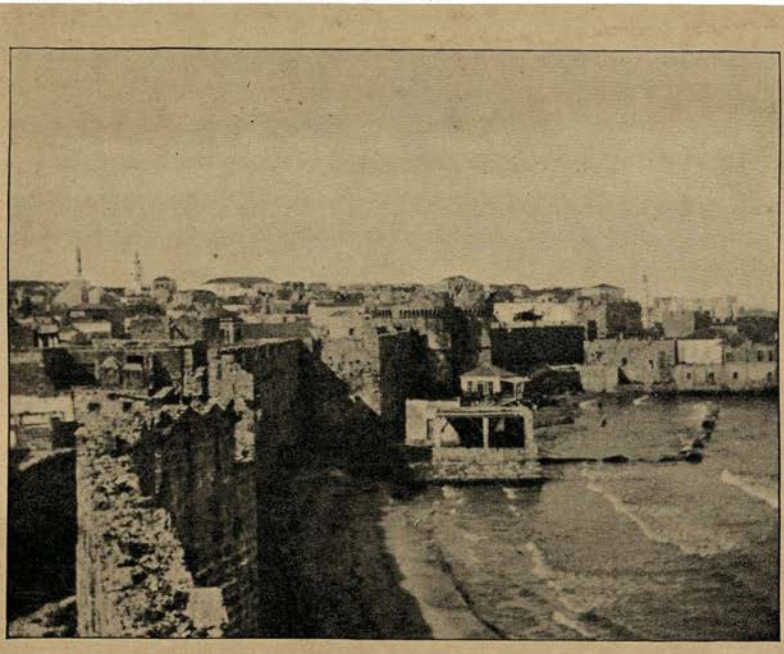

FIG. 67. The Walls of Castile.

The strategic value of these walls being of secondary importance, since they were almost out of reach of an attacking fleet, their guard was entrusted to the Knights of Castile, Leon, and Portugal, who were the least numerous and whose Tongue was the least in importance amongst the eight nations of the Order. Their banner bore the gold towers and red lions of Castile quartered with the inescutcheons of Portugal within their bordure of Castile. The walls are six feet thick and not reinforced by any outworks. An allure

four feet wide runs along the top, the remaining two feet being taken up by the dovetailed merlons. A large gate, which we shall refer to presently, divided the walls into two nearly equal parts. The first portion, from the ruined tower to this gate, is practically the original wall, merely improved or repaired by Grand Master Orsini, whose shield is found here six times. It is built in a very irregular way, with re-entering angles at intervals. On the face of one of these is a large white marble slab bearing Grand Master Blanchefort's shield, accompanied by Orsini's (Fig. 68).

About fifty yards from the mole of the Windmills stands a gate over

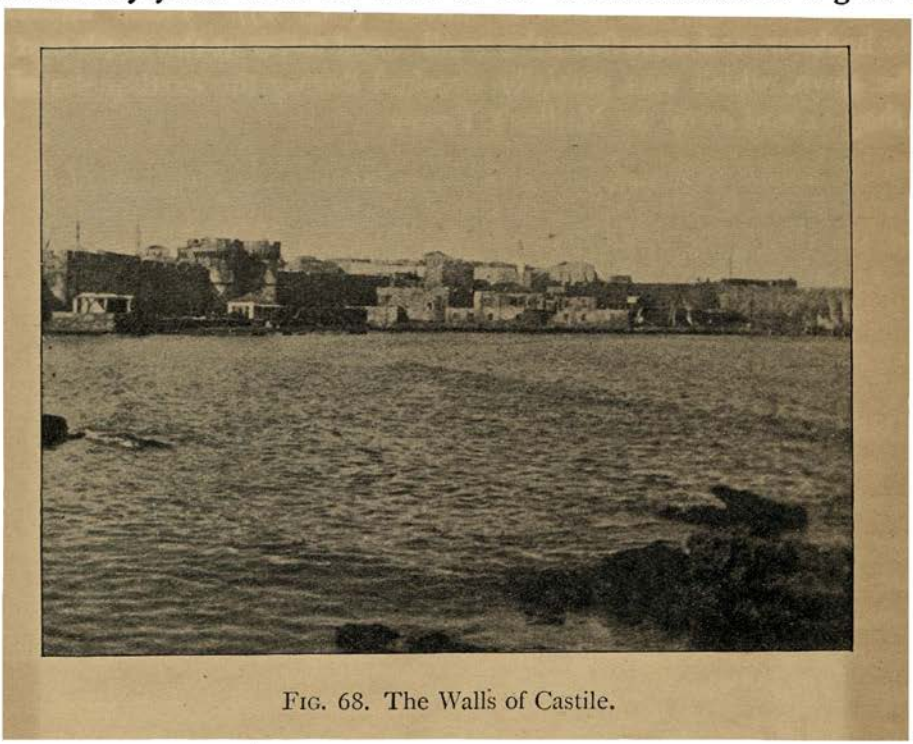

FIG. 68. The Walls of Castile.

which is Orsini's shield. This was the shortest way from the town to the Windmills, where during the last siege powder was ground for the guns. As it opens into the Jewish quarter it is called the Jewish Gate. Through it till quite recently the municipal scavengers used to carry out and throw into the sea the refuse of the town; but some Arab prisoners having escaped by it, the Turkish Governor ordered it to be barred. We have nowhere found any mention of this gate, unless it be the one Bosio speaks of as the first mole gate near the Post of Italy.

St. Catherine's Gate, which we have spoken of as dividing into two equal portions the walls of Castile, opened into the centre of the harbour

(Fig. 69). It is the most imposing in Rhodes, with its two massive flanking towers and their overhanging machicoulis. The allure of the wall runs through it now, but in the time of the Knights there were massive doors, which, after the usual manner, shut off the rooms in the round towers and the large guard-room over the gateway, with its two fire-places; the hinges of these doors still remain. This hall was reached from the street below by stone steps, still in existence, and a spiral staircase gave access to the top platform, where, in the early days of the Turkish régime, criminals were impaled in full sight of the town. On the harbour side of St. Catherine's Gate, and framed in a deep stone moulding, is seen a graceful marble canopy enclosing

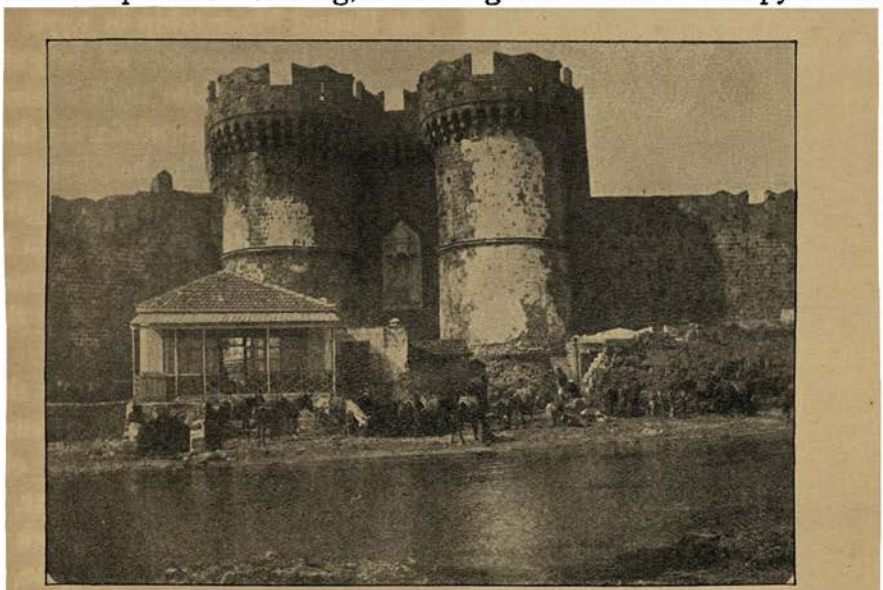

FIG. 69. St. Catherine's Gate.

three niches which contain three much mutilated statues, supposed to represent St. Peter, St. Catherine and St. John the Baptist. These stand exactly over three shields. The first is that of the Order. The second, which is ensigned with a kind of ducal crown, shows traces of a lion as principal charge. Picenardi believes it to be that of Philip the Good of Burgundy, who had done a great deal for St. Nicholas's Tower and probably also for the Order. We are rather doubtful about this, first because in the coat of Burgundy the lion appears only on an inescutcheon; secondly because there is no special reason for his shield to be there at all (Fig. 70). We are of opinion, from the gate being called after St. Catherine, the patron saint of the Italian Tongue, and the image of the saint being set there, that the shield underneath might

have belonged to some Italian prince. The third is d'Aubusson's. Below is an inscription in two lines, now so time-worn as to be absolutely illegible, although Picenardi asserts that he read it a year before we tried to do so, a statement which it is utterly impossible to credit. Apparently he simply copied it from Rottier's work, where it runs as follows :—

Reverendus D. Fr. Petrus Daubussonius Rhodi Magnus Magister hanc portam et turres condidit Magisterii anno primo 1477.

Whether the wording is correct we cannot say, and any statement of Rottier's must be accepted with caution. But the date is decidedly wrong, as d'Aubusson was elected to the Grand Mastership in 1476.

FIG. 70. Canopy on St. Catherine's Gate.

On the inside face of the gate (Fig. 71) is a large white marble slab, with a stone frame, decorated with the rope-pattern, showing the half-length figure of an angel, holding in his right hand the shield of the Order and in his left that of d'Aubusson. Underneath is an inscription, given here for the first time (Fig. 72).

This proves conclusively that the gate and towers were only completed two years after d'Aubusson's election, and not within the first year, which would have been very quick work. Under the archway of the gate, on the right-hand side of the wall as one enters from without, a small marble square bears a sand-glass with the word PALITHARO. Picenardi is right for once in believing it to be an inaccurate transcription of the Greek words ΠΑΛΙΝ ΘΑΡΡΩ, which might be translated 'I regain courage', or 'I still work when overturned'. The same explanation was given to us by a Greek scholar who saw a similar design and inscription on a marble slab in our possession (*vide* Fig. 2).

On the opposite wall is another square with the letters I.H.S. in the centre of a sun in glory. Both these slabs came probably out of some church or chapel near by, and seem to have been set up in modern times. Continuing along the allure of the rampart towards Naillac's pier, one comes to a massive square tower, the top of which is entirely occupied by a small

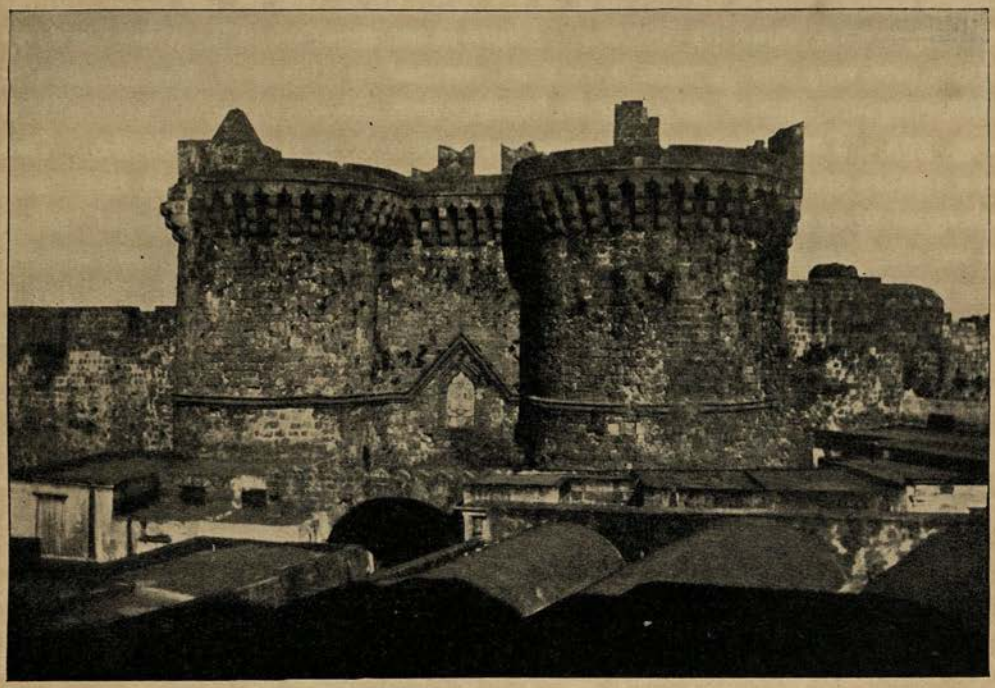

FIG. 71. Inside face of St. Catherine's Gate.

FIG. 72.

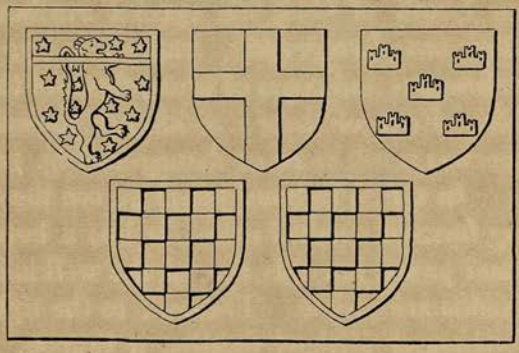

FIG. 73.

square chapel which, on account of its frescoes, is one of the most curious buildings to be found in Rhodes. There is no mention of its existence anywhere, and very few persons have ever entered it. Over its narrow door is a large square slab of grey marble bearing five shields, placed three and two (Fig. 73). The middle one of the upper row is that of the Order. The four others are those of unknown Knights, but we feel certain that they belonged to some dignitaries of the Tongue of England, the chapel being, as we shall presently see, a possession of the English Knights, and readily accessible from their palace or auberge, which stood below in the town. No. 1 may be a differenced coat of Pierrepont, the turning of the lion to the sinister being merely an arrangement of the artist, and having no heraldic significance; while, as to No. 3, according to Papworth's *Ordinary*, the only English family which bore five castles was Cornell or Cornwall. Chequy coats are, of course, very numerous in English armory. This chapel is twenty feet by fourteen, and is lighted only through the door. The whole of its walls and vaulted ceiling are decorated with frescoes, now much injured by damp and by the vandalism of Turkish soldiers, but still quite clear and bright in parts. In the left-hand wall as we enter we notice the arched recess where the altar was placed. The interior of this recess is decorated with life-size figures of St. Peter and St. Paul, their heads encircled with the halo, and standing on a black ground powdered with gold stars. On the right and left of the altar are kneeling angels, and higher up are two more, in the attitude of flying, and holding draperies on which are depicted the heads of the Saviour and John the Baptist. Immediately over the recess is seen a large shield of England, crowned, which shows conclusively that the chapel belonged to the Tongue of that nation. The wall facing the door is divided into two panels. That to the left is occupied by a large draped figure of St. John the Baptist bearing the Lamb of God, his special attribute, within an aureole (cp. Didron, *Christian Iconography*, Stokes, i. 322–3). It has a border of coloured arabesques and coats of arms, three of the latter at the top, and two on each side. Four of these shields are undecipherable, as the lower part of the fresco is much worn or damaged (Fig. 74).

In the right-hand panel we see the figure of a saint crowning the kneeling form of a naked man. It has a border of the same pattern as the left-hand panel, but this side of the wall is in a very bad state, and none of the shields are visible. The wall to the right of the door is decorated with the Archangel Michael fighting a dragon. The ground of this panel is dark, and amongst some names scratched here in graffito fashion, a few of which

Fig. 74.

we were able to decipher, is the date 1457 (Fig. 75). This would indicate that the chapel was decorated before that date. Nothing remains of the painting of the wall on the left of the door. All round the chapel runs a frieze on which are painted several shields. Of these we are able to reproduce only a few: the rest are obliterated. A possible allocation of No. 1 is Dent, co. Leicester (Fig. 76). The ceiling is divided into four panels. These are much injured by damp, but we were able to make out two large groups, a Nativity and an Annunciation. We have left for the last the wall facing the altar, which is the most interesting. Here we found a life-size figure of St. George mounted on a galloping steed and transfixing a green dragon. The saint's armour is that of the second half of the fourteenth century, and he bears a shield of the Order. Behind him, and standing in an attitude of surprise or fear, is a man in a loose red robe, with a crown on his head (*vide* frontispiece).

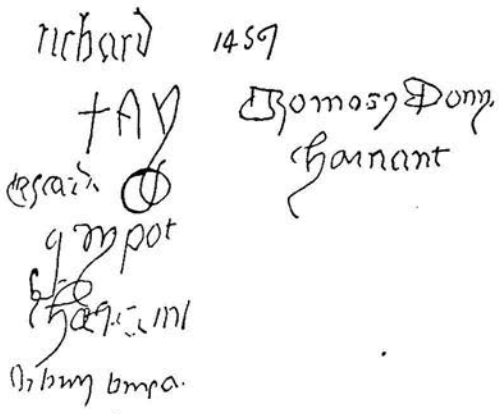

FIG. 75.

The whole composition with its mediaeval mannerism is very suggestive. This panel is in a fairly good state of preservation, and is finished off with a coloured border ornamented with four shields, one of which, that in the top left-hand corner, is destroyed. We wonder whether this knightly saint

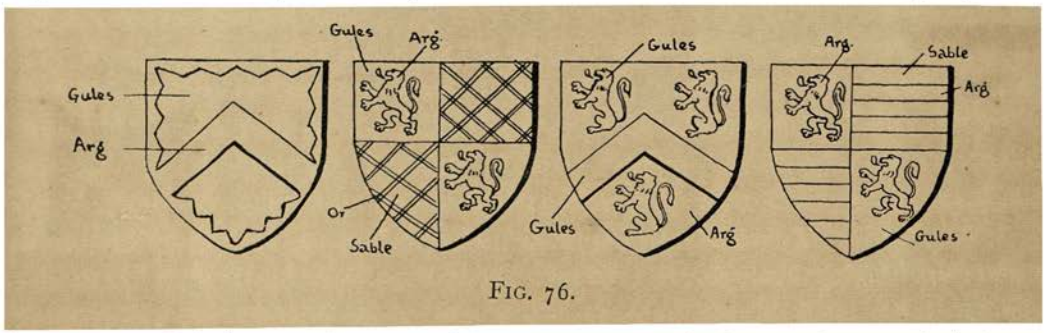

FIG. 76.

in armour fighting a dragon, although a natural decoration to find in an English chapel, does not illustrate an incident in the life of one of the first Rhodian Grand Masters, Dieudonné de Gozon. According to a well-known legend, a dragon desolated the suburbs of Rhodes at the time when Gozon was a simple Knight. Man and beast was destroyed, and the country was in

terror, so he offered to fight the monster. But Grand Master Villeneuve would not hear of it, for fear of losing one of his best officers. Gozon therefore departed for France, where he made a sham dragon, which he trained dogs to worry and accustomed his horse to face. Then, returning to Rhodes, he set out alone with his dogs in search of the real dragon and killed it. The news having got about, the Grand Master ordered Gozon to be imprisoned, and when Villeneuve died the Knights chose the prisoner for his successor. This is no doubt a highly embroidered version of a recorded incident, the killing of a crocodile fallen from a passing Egyptian vessel on which some of these animals were being conveyed as curiosities. At the same time the legend survives to this day, and the Turkish or Greek inhabitants of the

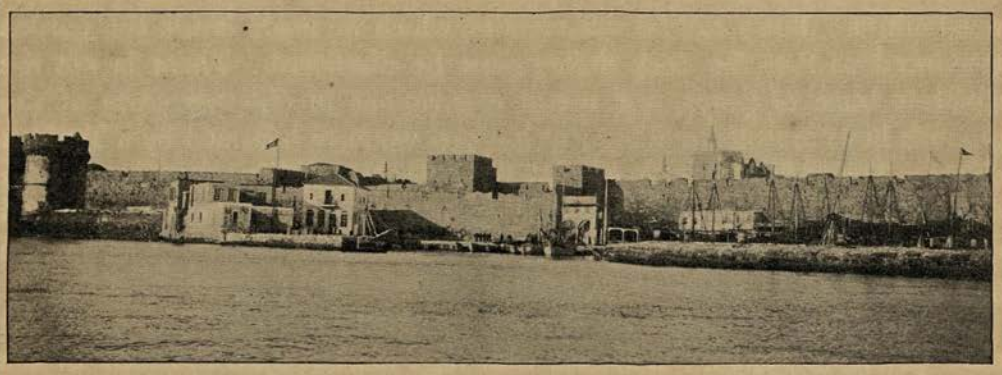

FIG. 77. The Walls of Castile, St. Catherine's and Sea Gates. St. George's Chapel showing to the right of the flag-staff.

district where this dragon was supposed to have been done to death will show you the grotto in which he dwelt.

If we continue our tour of the walls we now pass over the Marine or Sea Gate, which connected the Collachium or military city with the harbour. Here are two square projecting towers, the first of which was used as a prison when Turkey was at war with Napoleon. The then French Consul at Rhodes, Pierre Chépy, and several unfortunate Frenchmen were imprisoned there from 1799 to 1802. On the platform of this tower lies a large block of white marble carved with Grand Master Heredia's shield on either side of that of the Order (Fig. 77).

The high parapet round the platform of the other tower has in each corner remnants of columns and ogival arches, which indicate the previous existence of a small oratory or chapel.

Proceeding along the narrow allure, we notice that the walls here are

decorated outside with three large marble slabs, bearing, the first d'Aubusson's shield side by side with that of the Order, the second d'Aubusson's also, beside that of the Order and supported by St. John and an angel, and the third d'Aubusson's shield quartered with the Order's, ensigned with the cardinal's hat and inscribed 1494. Next we come to an older portion of the wall, which forms part of the enclosure of the garden of Auvergne, and where two square projecting towers, not far from St. Paul's Tower, are united by an archway now blocked. Some authors believe that the garden of Auvergne was once a kind of dock, in communication with the harbour through this archway. There is no doubt about the opening, for a slot as well as circular holes in the masonry of the allure, and grooves in the sides of the arch below it, show that a portcullis was in use there before the arch was built in. But a careful examination which we made inside the garden convinced us that the dock theory must be dismissed. There is not the slightest trace of quays, and recent excavations in different parts of the grounds have revealed nothing; at least, so we were informed by a Turkish officer. We believe, however, that in early days galleys may have been drawn through the archway up a kind of slip and deposited on high ground either for repairs or for protection. Later on the increased size of the galleys made this impossible, and the arch was closed (Figs. 78 and 20).

A popular belief amongst the Turkish and Greek inhabitants of the town places the famous Colossus, with legs astride, upon the tops of the two towers just mentioned, which were built by the Knights more than sixteen hundred years after the statue was destroyed by the earthquake. This tale is gravely told to simple tourists, who look upon the spot with unsuspecting reverence.

And now we have come to the end of our tour round the walls.

Of the grand harbour there is little to say. It was the scene of many fine pageants, when on fête days the galleys were dressed in their gayest bunting and flying the colours of the Order. The space in front of St. Catherine's Gate, now occupied by miserable shanties and a slaughter-house, was a broad quay, the course of which is still visible at low tide. It was there that Djem, Sultan Bajazet's brother, landed in great state when, in 1482, he put himself under the protection of the Order. It was there, also, that Grand Master l'Isle Adam, with the remnant of his brave Knights and about five thousand inhabitants of the city who preferred exile to Mussulman rule, embarked after the fall of Rhodes. According to an eye-witness, it was a scene of the greatest confusion, and pitiful to behold. The wounded Knights, the sick and the terror-stricken inhabitants, were pursued

by the sneers and jests of the Janizaries, and even hustled and beaten with sticks, although, according to the terms of the capitulation, they were to depart in peace and unmolested.

In the early morning of the first of January, 1523, a trumpet, now in the Malta Museum, sounded the retreat, and the fleet of the Order sailed out

FIG. 78. The supposed Colossus' Towers.

of the harbour. There were in all thirty-one ships, amongst which were the *St. Mary*, with the Grand Master on board, the *St. Catherine*, the *St. John*, the *St. Bonaventure*, and the big carrack, or war-ship, commanded by the chief of the English Knights, William Weston, the Turcopolier.

XI

THE COLLACHIUM—THE GRAND MASTER'S PALACE—ST. JOHN'S CHURCH

THE Collachium (a term said to be derived from the Latin *colligere*) was the part of the town in which the principal buildings of the Order were collected, and where the Knights had to reside. Some call it the Convent or the Castle. It was separated from the rest of the city by a wall, a few yards

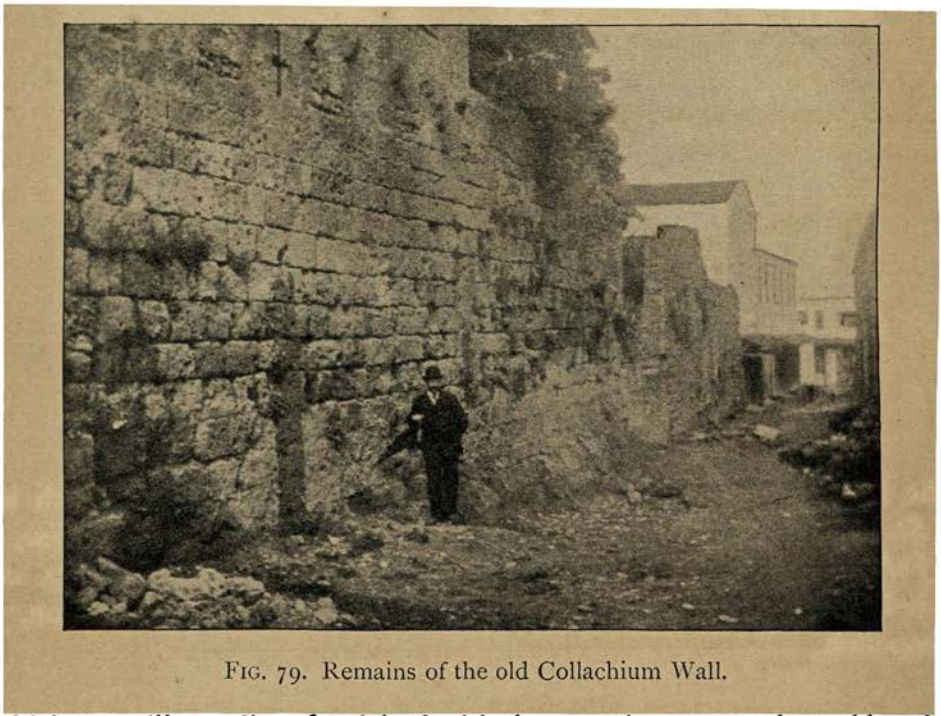

FIG. 79. Remains of the old Collachium Wall.

of which are still standing, furnished with those curious cross-shaped loopholes with circular openings at the points of section which we have described before. This wall ran from the walls of Castile, north of St. Catherine's Gate and close to it, in the direction of St. George's Gate, but turned north before reaching it, and so enclosed St. John's Tower and Church and the Grand Master's Palace (Fig. 79). In 1477 the walls of the Collachium were found to be in so decayed a state that Grand Master d'Aubusson considered it necessary to restore them, and, with the consent of the King of France and Pope

Sixtus IV, a special Jubilee was decreed and the proceeds of it were devoted to this purpose.

Several gates gave access to the Collachium: on the east side, St. Paul's Gate, the Sea Gate and the Arnaldo Gate. The last named opened, like St. Catherine's fifty yards off, upon a large square, now occu-

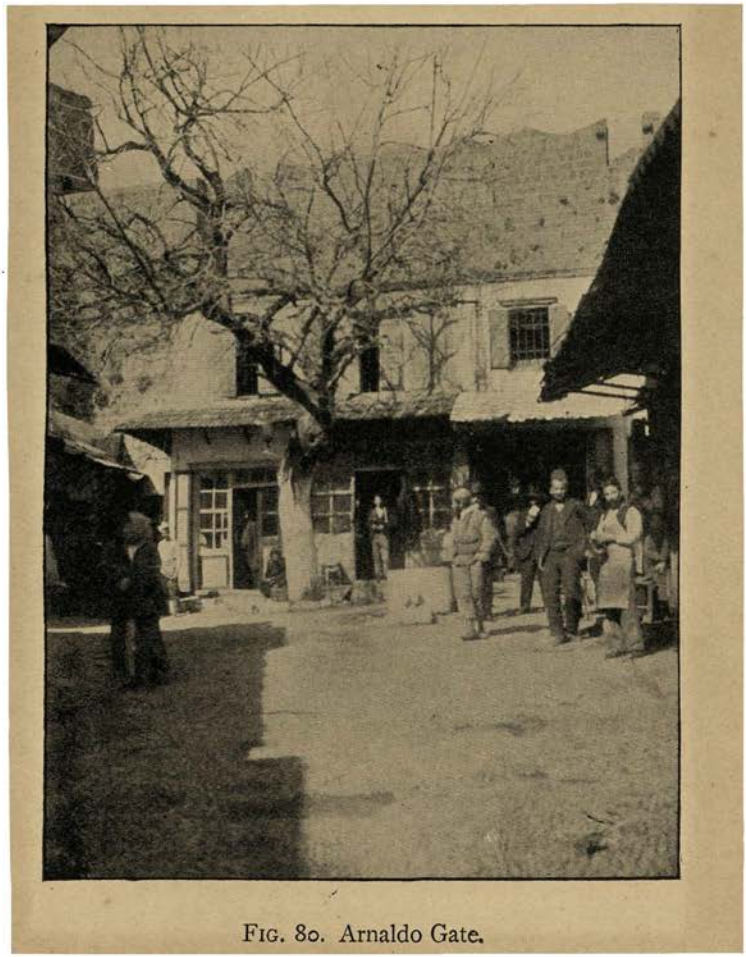

FIG. 80. Arnaldo Gate.

pied by the Bazaar or commercial part of the Turkish quarter. Why it was called Arnaldo it is difficult to understand. The name Arnaldo was applied in early times to the newly made Knights of the Order or to Christian foreigners in the Holy Land. Over this gateway, and facing the town or burgh, are three shields, which Picenardi places by mistake over the Marine or Sea Gate. Reading them from left to right they are those of Orsini, of the Order and of Villeneuve. Both the Grand Masters' coats

of arms are quartered with that of the Order, and this is the oldest example known of such quartering, which only became general after d'Aubusson's time (Fig. 80).

Two more gates existed in the south wall of the Collachium. These

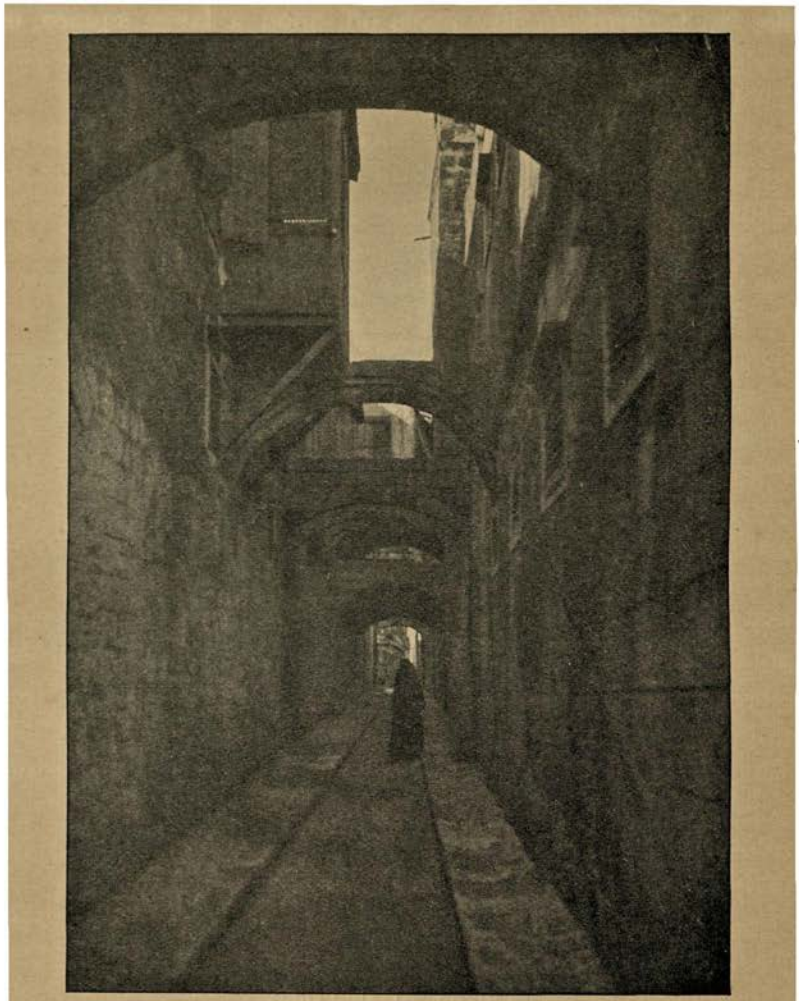

FIG. 81. In the Old Town.

were both flanked by square towers, only one of which remains; while on the west side there is the gate leading on to the ramparts of Germany, and also the Amboise Gate, which we have described.

In the Collachium were the Grand Master's Palace, the Conventual Church, the Hospital (the distinctive building of the Knights Hospitallers), and the eight Auberges or Palaces, the official residences of the heads, or,

to give them their proper name, the Pillars of the eight Tongues of the Order. The Knights and all officials were supposed to live in the Military city. As these were all members of a religious order, this led some authors, as we have said, to call it the Convent. None were allowed to pass through the Burgh on horseback or in company. The Collachium was always well guarded, and at carnival time no one wearing a mask or other disguise was admitted within the gates.

Let us now see what remains of all these buildings. What first strikes the visitor is their general greyness of hue, which is all the more apparent in the bright Rhodian sunshine. The brown stone, it is true, is relieved by slabs of white and grey marble, in many cases bearing striking coats of arms, some even framed in flamboyant stone borders; and many of these shields that adorn the Knights' earlier residences, though so long in the hands of the Moslem conqueror, still retain a fresh and sharp appearance, as if chiselled yesterday. The windows and doors of all the buildings are small, and their Gothic arches heavily moulded, the chief ornament being the Byzantine torse or twisted rope-pattern referred to before (Fig. 81).

The Collachium, like most of the town, is now inhabited by Turkish families, who, unfortunately, have disfigured many of the old houses with hideous, roughly made *moucharabis*. The bad state of the road in the gloomy, narrow streets and vaulted passages, and the whiffs from rotting refuse and stagnant filth that greet one everywhere, do not tend to the enjoyment of a walk through the Collachium. And yet one who loves old stones and picturesque architecture wanders full of enthusiasm among these curious streets. We have in Europe many similar houses, but a whole town of them is something that one does not see every day. The flat Eastern roofs and the absence of windows on the ground floor also give it a peculiar appearance (Fig. 82).

There is so little stir in Rhodes, and there are so few people moving about, that one recalls to mind Pompeii. And what a paradise for an artist! Often the darkness of the street is broken only by the glimpses of sunshine which comes through the arches connecting two sides of the street; these arches have been intended as a safeguard against earthquakes. Here and there some green overhanging plant appears on the crest of a wall to relieve the monotony of the mass of stone. Suddenly round a corner one comes across the minaret of a mosque, probably an ancient chapel of the Knights, or sees a clump of lofty palms. Here and there on the uneven ground, a big stone cannon-ball, a relic of the last great siege, a Greek stela, or a fragment of a votive column, standing at the door of a house as a mounting-block for

those who ride the Rhodian mule, reminds one of the gigantic struggle of Christian against Infidel, and also of a civilization far older than that of the Knights whose emblazoned buildings are found at every step (Fig. 83).

What a strange, gloomy, squalid city Rhodes is now! How sad it is

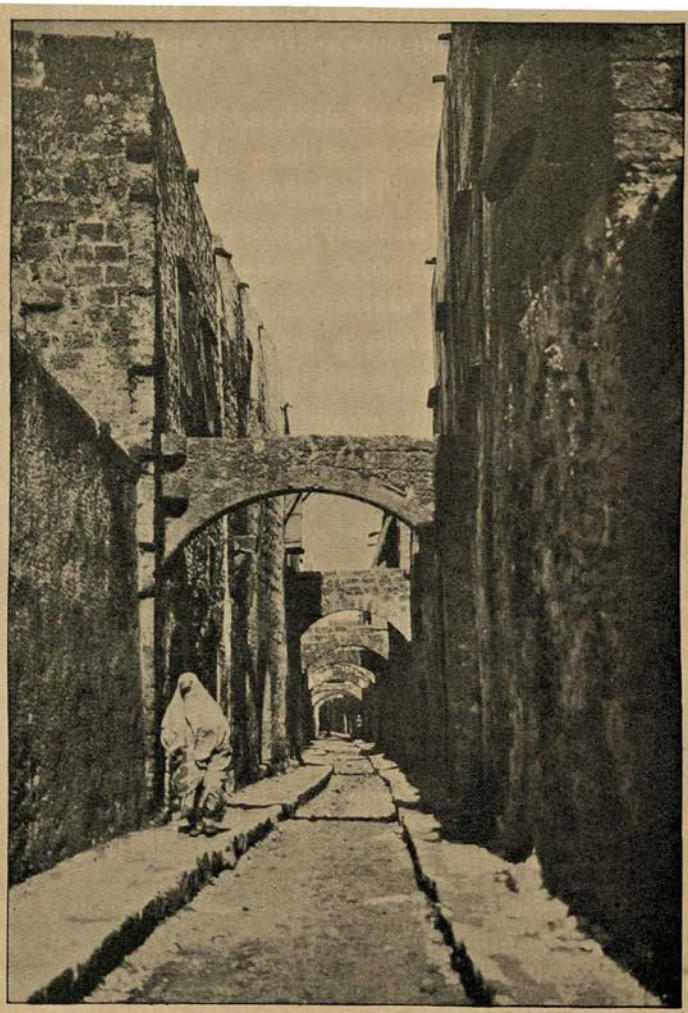

FIG. 82. In the Old Town.

to think that only three centuries back she was so rich, so prosperous, and so populous! But to return to our subject. Departing from the usual custom, which is to enter the Collachium from the harbour side, we shall approach it from the west through Amboise Gate. After crossing the three ditches, already described, and following the crooked road through two

posterns, the second of which still retains a beam carved with the shields of d'Amboise and the Order, one is confronted with a very large mass of masonry once the Grand Master's Palace or Castle. It stood on the highest point of the town, and covered about an acre of ground. Nothing much remains of this once fine edifice except part of its walls, its entrance gate to

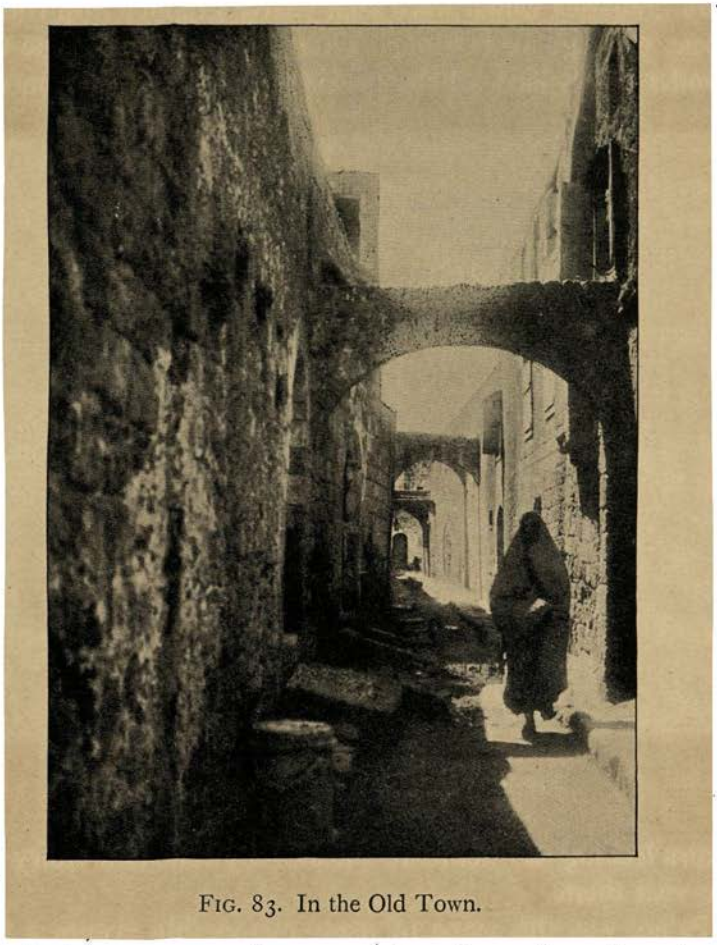

FIG. 83. In the Old Town.

the south flanked by two massive round towers, and another tower in the south-east corner (Fig. 84).

Two solitary shields of d'Aubusson, one on the north wall and another at the south-west corner, show it to have been at least partly built under his Grand Mastership. The Palace was destroyed on the 6th of November, 1856, when, as we have already explained, some powder, the existence of which under St. John's Church had been forgotten, was exploded by lightning. What remained of the building after this was turned into cells, and is now

a prison for long-sentence criminals. Nothing remains of the magnificent council-chamber, the noble rooms and halls, or the stables once full of fine horses and rich saddlery described by contemporaries of the Knights; nor is there any trace of the private chapel dedicated to St. Catherine. The court-yard alone, now the prisoners' exercising ground, retains underneath it the subterranean granaries which were kept yearly supplied with fresh wheat and biscuit in case of siege or famine. There are supposed to be three stories of vaults under the Palace, where provisions and ammunition were stored;

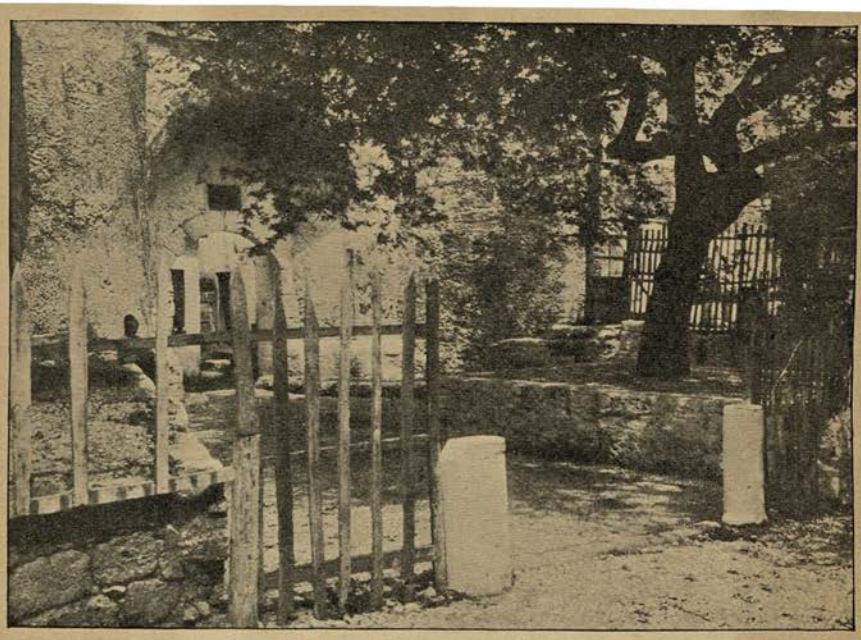

FIG. 84. Grand Master's Palace Entrance.

but the stairs leading to them are blocked by fallen masonry and we were not able to visit them.

The Palace was the scene of many memorable events, a few of which are worth mentioning. In the council-chamber lay in magnificent state, in 1503, the body of Grand Master d'Aubusson. In the banqueting-hall, Djem, Sultan Bajazet's brother, was entertained at a splendid feast before leaving Rhodes for France. Special musicians were engaged for his entertainment, and amongst them an Englishman, who, we are told, sang divinely to the accompaniment of four flutes joined together into a single instrument. This was perhaps a hand-organ. But, says the chronicler, the Prince was not greatly impressed by European music, and was delighted when a slave

called up from the kitchen, regaled him with coarse Turkish songs. The fireplace of the hall, a fine piece of carving, was bought and carried away in 1854 by Colonel Rose, then H.M.'s Consul-General at Beyrout. On the 29th of December, 1522, Sultan Suleiman ended his state entry into the captured town by a surprise visit to the Grand Master, whom he found in his Palace busy with the packing of his treasures. The meeting must have been awkward for both.

Of the Conventual Church of St. John, which stood opposite the palace gate, nothing whatever remains. The fatal gunpowder explosion in 1856, by which more than eight hundred people perished, destroyed it completely, together with its square belfry tower, which stood opposite the west front a few yards distant. An old inhabitant, who saw the place almost immediately after the catastrophe and who helped in the work of rescue, told us that where the church had stood there was an enormous hole about 150 feet across. Piles of rubbish were heaped up all round. This was simply used for filling in the hole afterwards. The mound thus made in time settled and became firm: on it the present Turkish school is built. We shall not attempt the description of an edifice which exists no more. We shall simply say that St. John's Church was small. It measured only 150 feet by 50. It had two aisles and a nave, also a vaulted transept and choir, and, unlike all the other buildings of the Knights, was covered with an open roof. Many Grand Masters and dignitaries of the Order were buried there. Amongst the former were Gozon, Corneillan, Orsini, Aubusson, Amboise, Blanchefort and Carretto. St. John's Church was sacked by the Janizaries when they entered the town soon after the capitulation. They opened all the tombs, expecting to find untold treasure, and they destroyed the ornaments and sculptures. When all the churches in Rhodes were turned into mosques a minaret was added to St. John's. This church is said to have been twice destroyed by lightning, and on the second occasion some powder, left forgotten in the crypt, exploded with the result we have seen above.

St. John's was connected with the Palace by a covered gallery, a branch of which ran at right angles in an easterly direction for about 50 yards as far as the probable site of the Hall of St. John, which is said to have stood at the top of the famous Street of the Knights. This was a large covered space, the dimensions of which are lost, where every Knight had to perform his military exercises once a week at least. It is difficult to believe, says Picenardi, that any such building could have stood there at all, the space being too small, and the gallery is supposed to be simply a passage.

Nothing remains of either gallery or drill-hall except two stumps of columns and a couple of capitals half-built into the wall of a house forming the left-hand top corner of the Street of the Knights where it opens into a square (Fig. 85). This square is large enough to contain a modern block of building of considerable size, and it is not at all impossible that we have here the site of the drill-hall. In this hall on the 23rd of June in each year after vespers all the members of the Order were entertained at a meal by the Grand Master. As shown by the distance at which the remains of

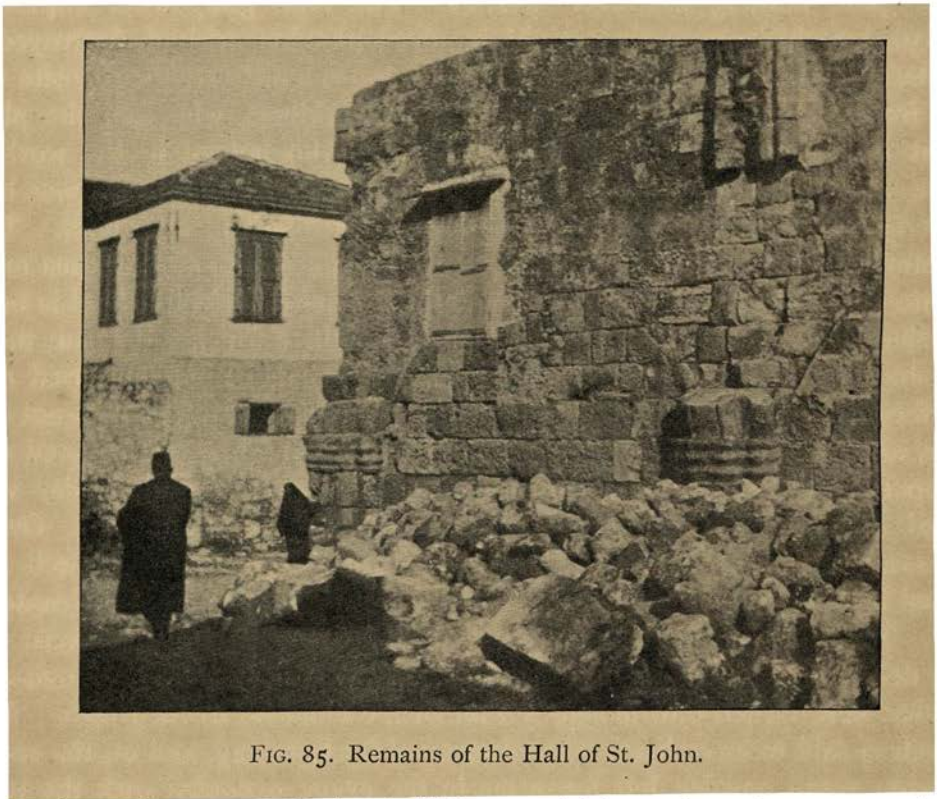

FIG. 85. Remains of the Hall of St. John.

supporting columns stand, the building would have been large enough for the purposes of such a drill-hall. Moreover, standing off the old main road, it blocked no way; and when the present road was excavated in October, 1902, stone-paving was found below it. Newton, Berg and other authors give a sketch of a kind of Gothic arch at the top of the Street of the Knights. This arch was destroyed in 1856 by the explosion already recorded. It was evidently the entrance into the gallery, and probably was fitted with a door or grate, so that the Grand Master's Palace could be shut off from the Collachium.

XII

THE STREET OF THE KNIGHTS—THE AUBERGES OF GERMANY, CASTILE, PORTUGAL, PROVENCE, FRANCE, AND ITALY

We shall now descend the Street of the Knights from the palace to the harbour; the main street of the Collachium, where the different Tongues

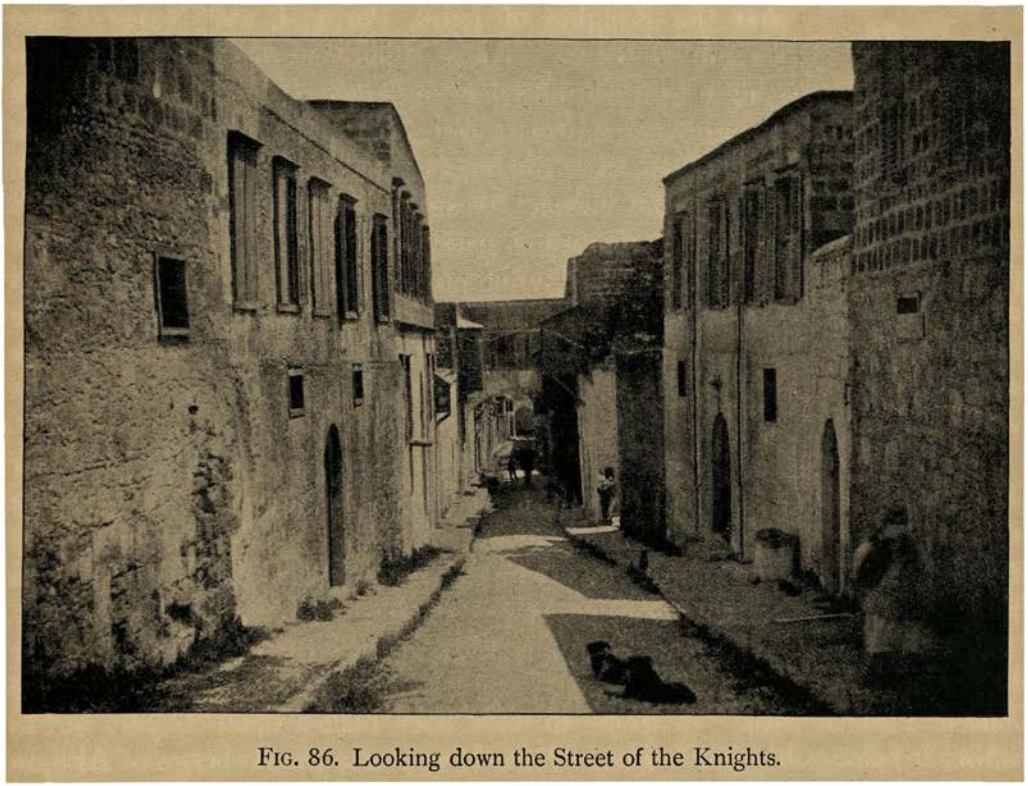

Fig. 86. Looking down the Street of the Knights.

had each its Auberge or Palace, the residence of its chief or Pillar. The first impression is not favourable (Fig. 86). What strikes one is the narrowness of this famous street and the smallness of some of the houses that line it. Those at the top of the street on both sides, although evidently old, are devoid of all interest. The Auberge of Germany was situated

somewhere about here. Perhaps it was the house with a big door and archway just past the first narrow street on the right, the inside courtyard and stone staircase of which show it to have been a house of some importance. On the house next to it is a shield which bears a castle in a sun with a chief of the Order (Fig. 87). The tablet on which the shield is carved is inscribed with the date 1520. It is a Spanish coat, and formerly stood on the house next door, and has therefore been set up in its present position since the Conquest. The neighbouring building just mentioned is large and grim. It used to be the Auberge of Spain, which served for both the Tongue of Aragon and that of Castile. But from the seven shields with which it was once decorated we infer that the Knights of Leon, Portugal, and Navarre also assembled there. These shields were removed several years ago by some high Turkish official from Constantinople. They stood high up inside the large stone frame still visible on the façade. This Auberge, and that of France, were the largest in the Street of the Knights, and the former was also the oldest. It still shows remains of mullioned windows, and its archway, under which passes a side street, and over which part of the Auberge was built, is of noble proportions. None of the original rooms remain; some are ruined, their roofs having fallen in, others have been altered by the Turkish families living in the building. The walls were decorated with frescoes, but all these have been thickly white-washed over.

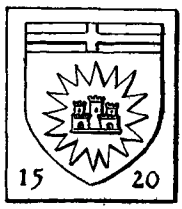

FIG. 87.

The Auberge of Aragon was erected about 1445 by Grand Master Fluvian, a native of Catalonia, whose coat of arms, quartered with that of the Order, is seen on the building in two places. This Auberge is joined to the house across the street by a covered bridge, which seems to indicate that it had an annexe on the opposite side of the way.

On the left side of the same street we see, a little higher up than the bridge, a low building with a sort of squat cupola. This has been turned into a Turkish bath. It seems to have been once a small chapel; but to whom it belonged is not known. Exactly opposite the Auberge of Aragon is a small house, which, judging from its inscription, was built by Flotte, Grand Prior of Toulouse, in the Tongue of Provence, a man who by his functions was entitled to the fifteenth place in the precedence of the dignitaries of the Order (Fig. 88). The Flotte family was well known in France in those days, and one Bertrand Flotte acted as Regent of the Order while Grand Master Heredia was a prisoner of the Turks from 1377 to 1381. Another

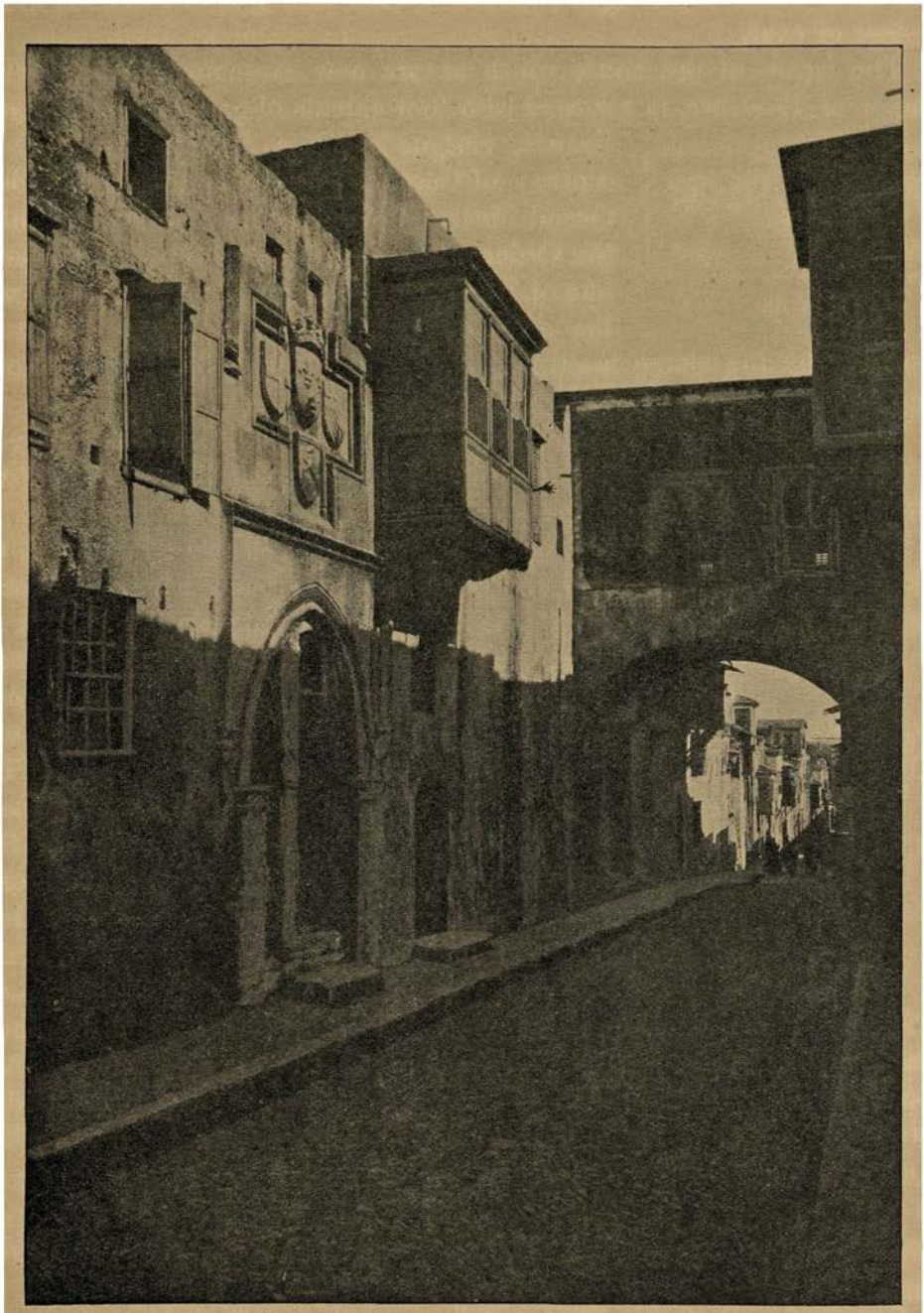

FIG. 88. The Auberge of Provence and Arcade of Aragon.

of the same stock, the Knight Boniface Flotte, distinguished himself during the siege of 1522.

The façade of the house which we are now examining, no doubt the Auberge of Provence, is adorned with four shields of grey marble, those of France, ensigned with a Ducal crown, in the centre; of Carretto on the right, under whose Grand Mastership the house was built; and of the Order on the left. Below these is a smaller one of Prior Flota bearing a ram rampant, with the arms of the Order on a chief. It is accompanied by the above inscription, beginning with a flower rebus, or a badge (Fig. 89).

FIG. 89.

The Gothic entrance-door has been partly filled in with masonry by the Turkish owner of the house, who has also spoilt it by opening out additional windows and fixing *moucharabis*.

The house we have just described stands between two blind alleys, the left-hand one of which leads to gardens at the back, where we found a building of some importance. At the entrance into these grounds are still to be seen the grey marble sockets which evidently once received the hinges of massive doors. The portal, a fragment of which we picked up, was decorated with *fleurs-de-lys* of unusually complicated form (Fig. 90). The house itself, which overlooks the walls of France, has a vast vaulted basement and large upper rooms. This building seems to be unknown, and has not been mentioned by writers on Rhodes. A very old Turk who lives in it told us it had been in his family for generations, and that he remembers having seen a great many years ago in one of the lower rooms, and fixed into the wall, a kind of wooden bench and a wheel. And when the floor of another room was dug up for stone, about 1,500 lb. of pitch were found. His father had told him that the building used to be the Knights' mint. We found a curious design on the wall of the large vaulted room where the bench was; a *fleur-de-lys* dividing the date 1425 above an eight-pointed cross, with a moon in the dexter, and a sun-in-glory in the sinister canton, and below these the shield of the Order (Fig. 91).

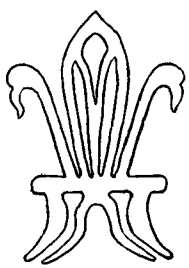

FIG. 90.

Considering that this large building stands exactly behind the house which in our opinion belonged to the Tongue of Provence, whose Pillar was superintendent of the Arsenal and Artillery stores, we have here without

a doubt a dependency of its Auberge; the frontage of the latter in the Street of the Knights having been intended merely as a decorative façade. The pitch, too, and the sketch on the wall, would support this view.

Returning to the Street of the Knights, the first house we come to on the left after passing under the arcade of Aragon is also decorated with several shields in white marble framed in a heavy stone-moulding. The three upper ones are disposed in the same way as those on the Auberge of Toulouse, viz. France, Carretto, and the Order. Underneath is a small one bearing a Catherine wheel with a crescent in base and a chief of the Order. Below are the following inscriptions (Fig. 92). On the lower part of the

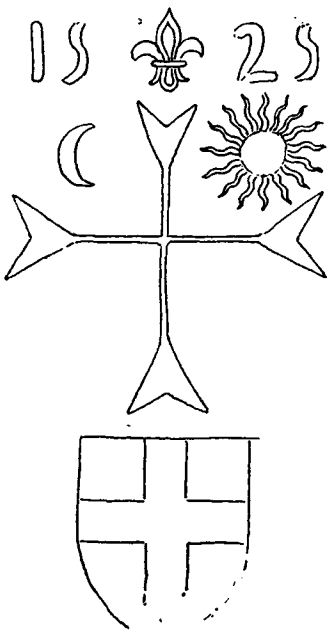

Fig. 91.

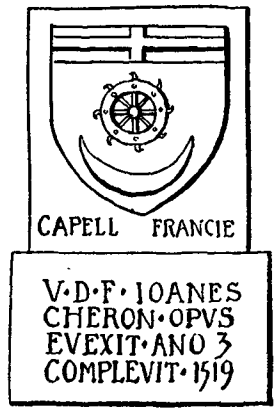

Fig. 92.

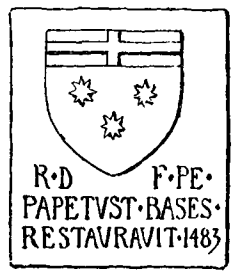

Fig. 93.

house is another shield bearing three eight-pointed stars, two and one, with the arms of the Order on a chief. It is accompanied by the above inscription, which we discovered under a thick coat of whitewash (Fig. 93).

It is clear from *evexit* that John Cheron raised the height of the house, that is, built the upper part. As to the purpose of this house, we believe it to have been the residence of the chaplain of the Tongue of France.

Annexed to it is a small chapel, the south wall of which abuts upon the street. Its door is in a little courtyard, which is entered by a small door over which is a long marble stone decorated with the following shields

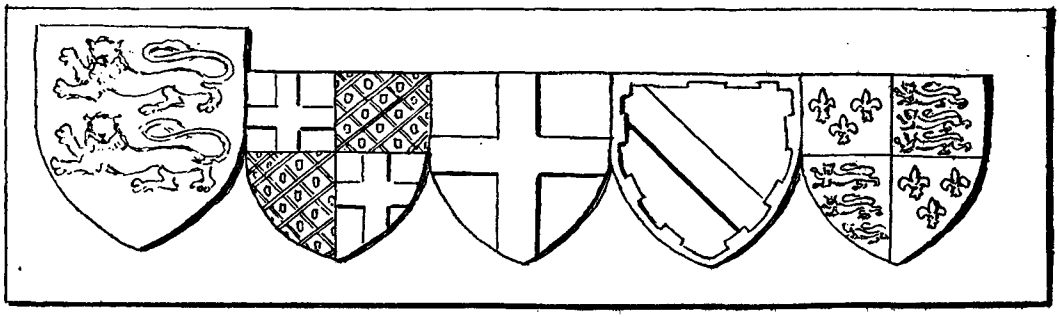

FIG. 94.

reading from the left: Blanchefort, Villeneuve quartered with the Order, the Order, Gozon, and France Modern and England quarterly (Fig. 94).

The chapel itself is small, consisting simply of a nave 25 feet by 8. It is in the early Gothic style and without any ornamentation inside. A cupola covers the chancel end, and rises to a height of 30 feet from the pavement. The door is flanked outside by two octagonal columns with bases and capitals to match; the edges of these capitals are chamfered. Four narrow Gothic windows, two over the door and one in each side-wall, light the building, which, like many of the Knights' minor chapels not used as mosques, has been given as free lodgings to poor people. Outside, on the street wall of this chapel, are three shields, which read thus from right to left: France Modern, the Papacy (a shield, with two crossed keys), and England (Fig. 95).

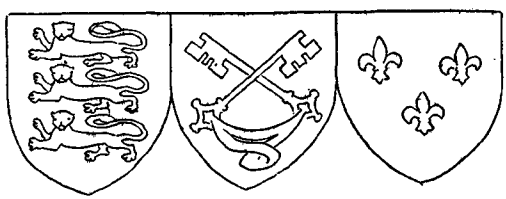

FIG. 95.

In an angle of the same wall has been built what looks like an outside pulpit, which is reached by ten stone steps. This very curious piece of architecture, strange to say, has escaped the notice of Picenardi, though he visited Rhodes before he wrote his book. It is surmounted by a carved canopy of Gothic style. If this is an outside pulpit, like those first used in the fifteenth century for preaching from on fête days, when the churches were too small to receive all the worshippers, it must have been one of the earliest. The steps formerly had an iron railing, as is indicated by the holes in the stone (Fig. 96).

FIG. 96. The 'Pulpit' in the Street of the Knights.

We doubt, however, whether this structure was intended either for preaching, or, as Biliotti suggests, for reading proclamations. We found that a man of average height would have some difficulty in standing erect in it. Proclamations, too, are usually read in an open space and not in a narrow street. We believe that this pulpit was really a niche in which some statue, brought out of a church at certain dates, was exposed in this the most frequented thoroughfare of the Collachium.

A few yards lower down on the same side of the street is a recess in the wall, occupied by a Turkish tombstone. An officer or soldier is buried there, we were told, where he fell fighting; but against what enemy we could not discover. There was no fighting to speak of in the town after it

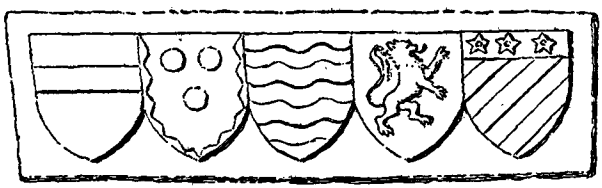

FIG. 97.

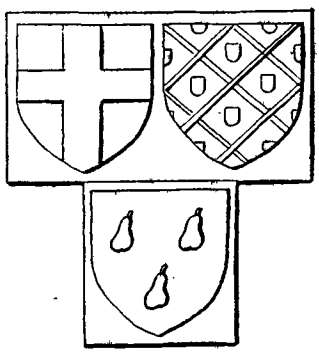

FIG. 98.

fell in the last siege. It is true that a regiment of Janizaries, carrying sticks only, which was allowed to enter, soon became unmanageable in their lust for plunder. A large body of them ran down the Street of the Knights to the Hospital, hitting right and left. It is possible that one was struck back by some angry Knight and fell there. However, this is only a supposition on our part. And now the tomb of this supposed hero is held in veneration by the Turks. They hang over it coloured rags which have been in contact with sick people, to whom this ceremony is believed to bring back health. The lower part of the wall here is adorned with a long white marble slab, on which are five coats of arms of unknown Knights (Fig. 97).

The second house one comes to beyond this tomb is decorated with three large white marble shields arranged two and one. The upper ones are those of the Order and Villeneuve, the lower one bears the three pears of the Spanish Perellos, of whom one was a simple Knight in Rhodes, and another became Grand Master in Malta in 1697 (Fig. 98).

XIII

THE AUBERGE OF FRANCE

We have now reached the gem of the Knights' buildings, the Auberge of France, with its elegant and picturesque façade of the fifteenth century. From the numerous shields and inscriptions which adorn it we gather that the Auberge was begun some time after the siege of 1480 by Grand Master d'Aubusson, and completed by his successor d'Amboise. It stands on the site of an older Auberge, which was probably destroyed by the terrible earthquake that followed the said siege (Fig. 99).

There is a very strong presumption that Knight-Commander Clouet, whose coat of arms is over the doorway, was the architect. We shall find him commemorated as a builder when we come to the Hospital, which dates from the same period. The building is elaborately carved, and ornamented with shields, some in white, some in grey marble. Although the soft stone of which it is built is crumbling away, and the façade sadly spoilt by the Turkish owners, who have blocked some of its windows, pierced the wall, and cut away heavy cornices to fix up hideous *moucharabis*, the old Palace of the Tongue of France still retains a great deal of its formal character. It must originally have been coated with a kind of reddish stucco, some of which remains near the upper part. But the lower portion of the wall has been, as usual, spoilt by numerous successive coats of whitewash. The first floor is built on arches, which are walled up and used as warehouses, or perhaps, as we shall see later, in the case of the Hospital, let to various persons. The Palace is built in three separate, but contiguous, blocks on sloping ground, so that the heavy moulding and torse pattern which along the whole front of the façade adorns its first floor runs in three steps. Several mullioned windows, ornamented under the heads with *fleurs-de-lys*, have heavy carved square hood-mouldings, carried half-way down the sides of the openings and terminating in flowered corbels (Fig. 100). Higher up and parallel with the first is a second moulding, and the top of the wall is embattled, the merlons being of the swallow-tail pattern. But to break the monotony of this line of battlements four bartizans stand out at equal distances between gargoyles in the shape of dragons' or crocodiles' heads,

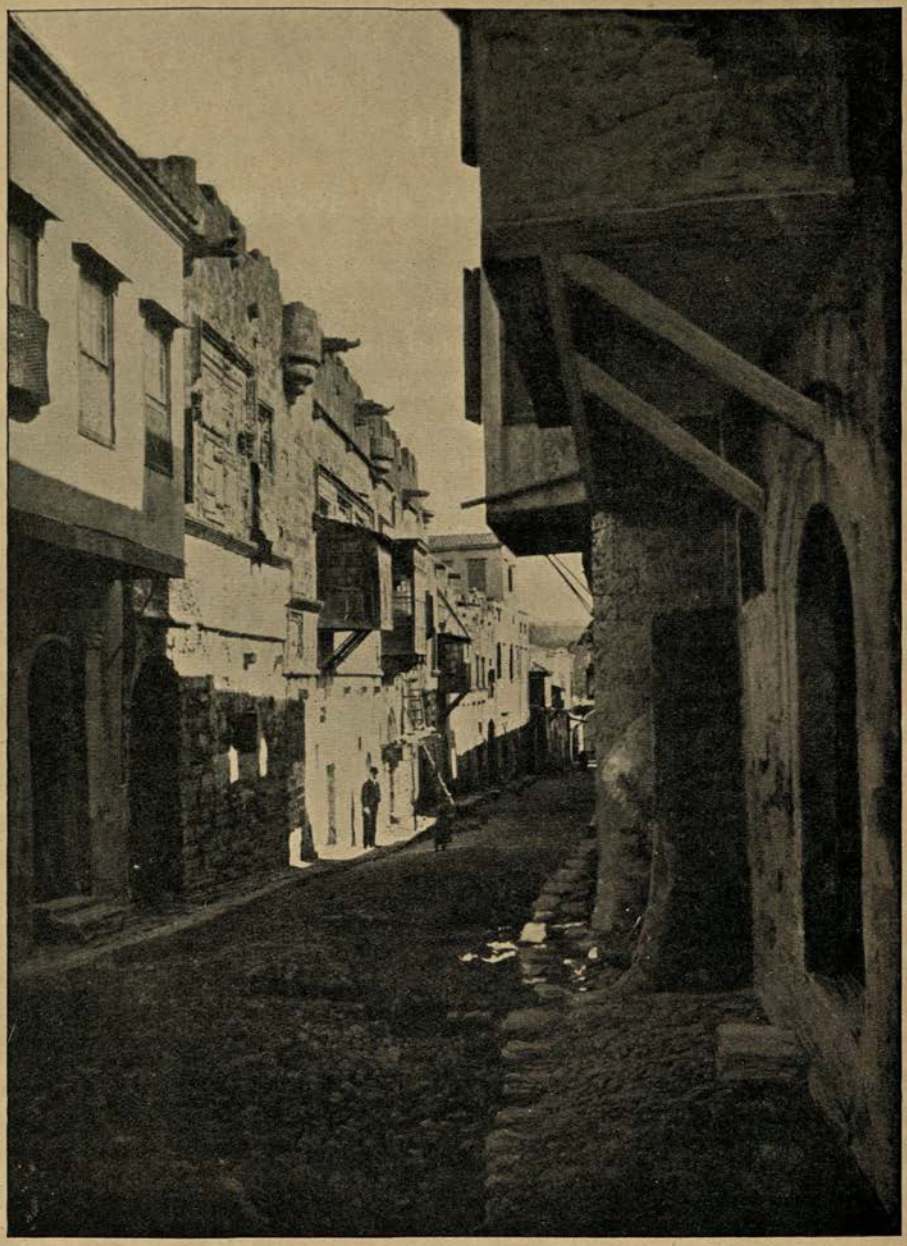

FIG. 99. The Auberge of France looking down.

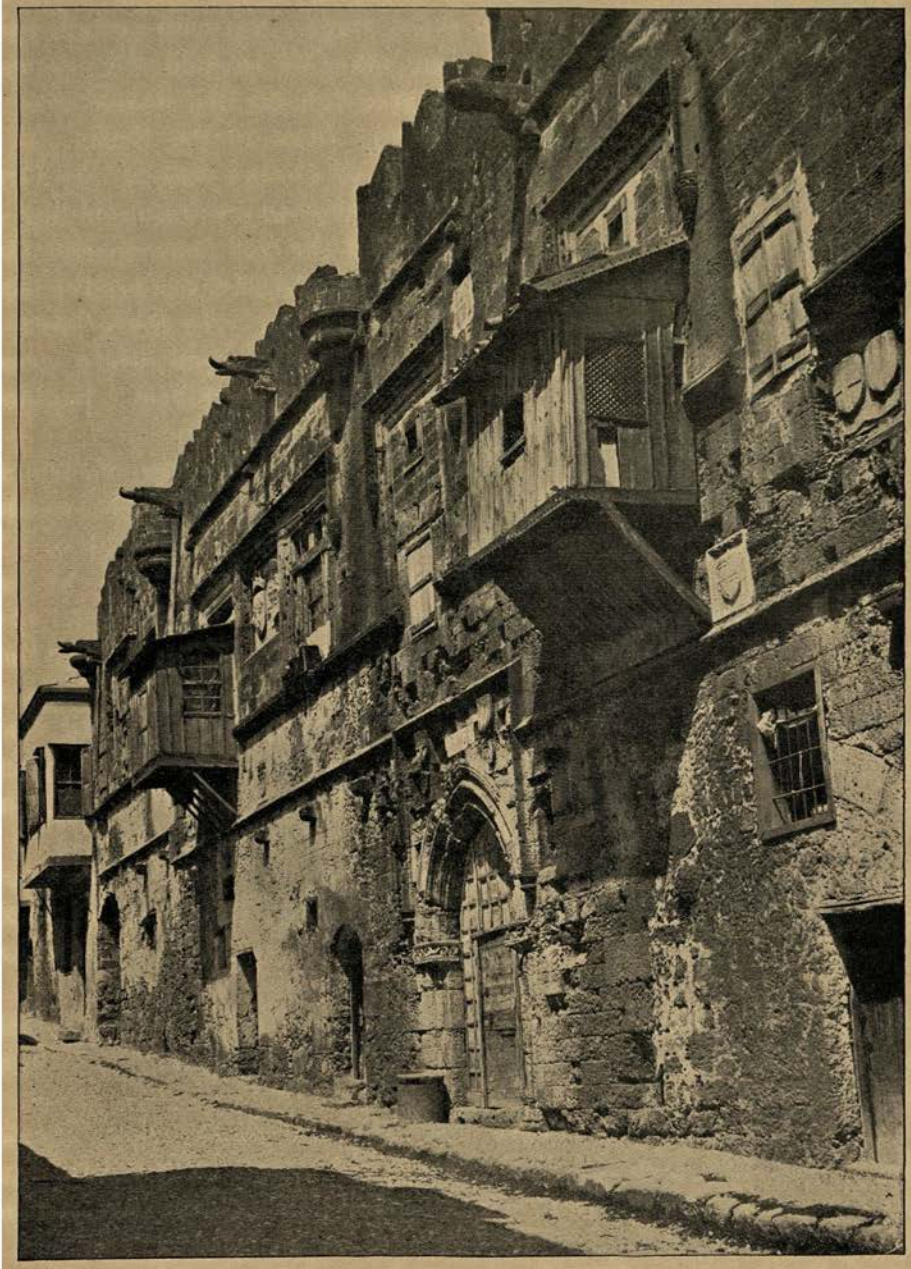

FIG. 100. The Auberge of France looking up.

perhaps in remembrance of the monster killed by Grand Master de Gozon. Near the top of the building are also three stone rings with corbels below them, intended to hold the staves of the three banners that floated over the building: those of the Order, of the Tongue of France and of the Grand Prior. Between the first moulding and the top of the wall many marble slabs, inscriptions and shields adorn the façade of the Auberge. As these have not been described in detail before, we subjoin a complete list of them. Beginning from the left, they are:—

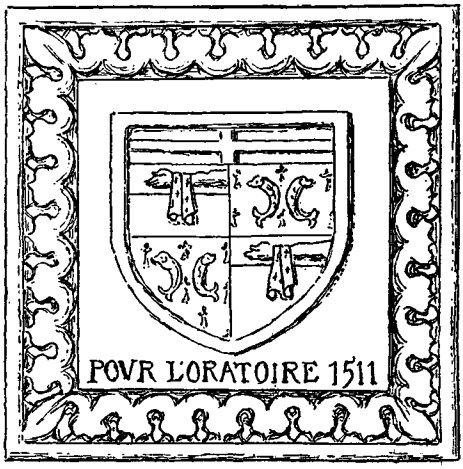

FIG. 101.

1. A square white marble slab measuring 2 feet 6 inches with a moulded border. It bears the shield of l'Isle Adam when Grand Prior: his own coat quartered with that of his mother, who was a Nesle, and a chief of the Order (Fig. 101). Beneath are the words POUR L'ORATOIRE 1511, which shows that the slab originally indicated the proximity of some collection-box, and must have been either lower down or else in a chapel which is close by. We do not know where the oratory was. Perhaps it is the small chapel we have described on page 110.

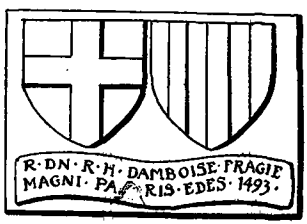

FIG. 102.

2. High up on the wall a grey marble slab with the shield of Grand Master d'Amboise, quartered with the arms of the Order, and inscribed with the date 1503.

3, 4. Lower down a large slab of grey marble with two shields, those of d'Amboise and the Order, and a two-line inscription on a slightly damaged scroll (Fig. 102).

5. Further on another square slab of white marble with moulded border, bearing the shield of l'Isle Adam, with a chief of the Order, and inscribed POUR LA MAISON 1511. This evidently adorned another collection-box (Fig. 103).

6, 7. In the centre of the façade two large slabs of white marble, side by side, displaying on the left the crowned shield of France modern, which had been adopted by the Tongue of that nation; on the right, and ensigned with a Cardinal's hat, the shield of d'Aubusson quartered with the Order's.

The following words are to be read on the slab. Right and left of the shields: *Saynct Denis*, the war cry of France. Below, *Voluntas Dei est* 1405, recalling the *cri de guerre* of the Crusaders, suggested by Pope Urban II at the Council of Clermont in 1095; above, *Dieu sauve le Pelerin* (Fig. 104), an inscription which has never to our knowledge been copied before.

FIG. 103.

8. Over the heavily moulded Gothic doorway an oblong marble slab, measuring two feet by one, and bearing a two-line inscription (Figs. 105, 106):

9, 10, 11, 12. Four stone shields over the doorway; namely, d'Amboise's on the right of the above slab, with the remains of another, not now to be identified, underneath; the Order's on the left, and Clouet's underneath.

13. A square slab of white marble above, and resting on the lowest

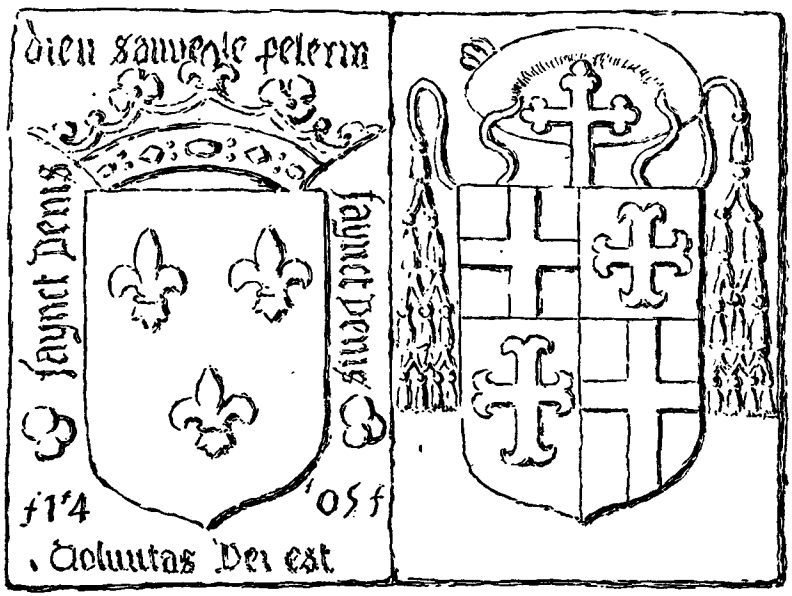

FIG. 104.

course of moulding. This is similar in size to the others already mentioned as belonging to collection-boxes, but simply bears l'Isle Adam's coat of arms

quartered with his mother's, with a chief of the Order, like the Fig. No. 101. It is inscribed: POUR PHILERME, 1511. This slab has evidently been set up here in modern times as an ornament. We think that these three square slabs were found inside the Auberge.

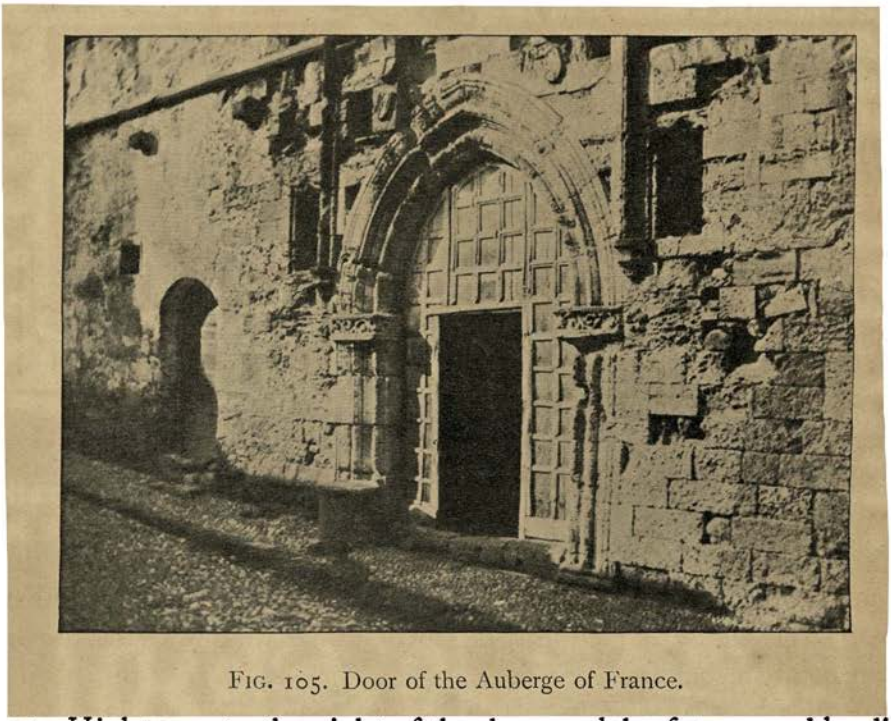

FIG. 105. Door of the Auberge of France.

14. Higher up, to the right of the door, a slab of grey marble, displaying Amboise's shield coupled with that of the Order, and below these, on a scroll, an inscription (Fig. 107).

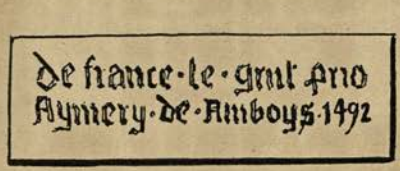

FIG. 106.

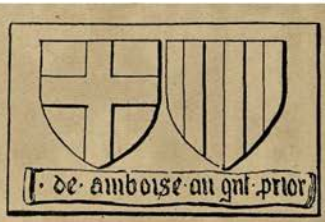

FIG. 107.

15, 16, 17. A large oblong slab of grey marble bearing three shields, placed two and one. The upper two are those of l'Isle Adam quartered with that of the Order, and the arms of the Order alone. The one below reads thus: *A chevron within a bordure embattled, impaling three bars wavy; a chief of the Order* (Fig. 108).

18, 19, 20. Three more small stone shields of Amboise, each over one of the three principal windows amongst the carved foliage of the window-head.

The Auberge of France is separated from the adjoining buildings by dark, vaulted passages leading to the narrow streets at the back. If we enter that to the left, we find, a few yards inside and to the left, some steps leading up to a marble doorway, once ornamented with shields of arms, now broken off. Part of a date, M V, is still visible. This door opens into a courtyard, into which one could descend from the first floor of the Auberge. On this side of the palace stood the four large shields, till lately in our possession, which are shown in Fig. 2. They are those of France, Amboise, Carretto and an unknown Grand Prior. The shield of France is interesting in that below it is a porcupine, the badge of Louis XII. It seems evident, therefore, that at one time the Tongue of France must have had the king of that nation as a patron, and we may have here the identical shield taken down from Amboise Gate when several of the Tongues protested against its being there, as related on p. 52 above. If we proceed further along the said passage, we come to a point where part of the back of the Auberge is visible. And here we see a graceful Gothic window with the curved chevron head so common in Rhodes, having a *fleur-de-lys* in the head angle. Underneath is a marble shield of the unknown Grand Prior just mentioned (Figs. 109, 110).

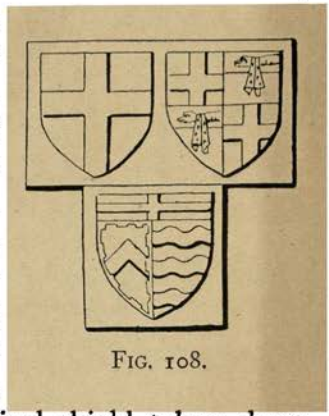

FIG. 108.

Returning to the street of the Knights, if we gain admission to the inner courtyard (a very difficult process, as Turkish women live in the house), we find remains of large arches, and, on a level with the first-floor windows, the bases of some double columns which seem to indicate that a gallery or large hall once existed there. The courtyard is about forty feet square. High up on the left-hand wall is a large square slab of grey marble inscribed 1509, and bearing three shields, placed one and two. The upper one is Amboise's, quartered with that of the Order. Underneath are those of l'Isle Adam, as Grand Prior, quartered with the arms of Nesle, and those of an unknown dignitary: *an eagle displayed with three estoiles in chief, and a chief of the Order* (Fig. 111). These shields have never been described before. In the house itself there is no ornamentation of any kind, although Picenardi speaks of an elegantly carved doorway.

The Auberge of France was, after the Grand Master's Palace and the

FIG. 109. Window at the back of the Auberge of France.

Hospital, the principal building in the Collachium. The three most important Tongues of the Order, those of Provence, Auvergne, and France, were also the richest and the most powerful; and as nearly all the Grand Masters were Frenchmen, the buildings connected with their country were the finest. We must not forget either that the Pillar of the Tongue of France was the Grand Hospitaller, the first dignitary in the Order after the Grand Master. It was in the Auberge of France that Prince Djem, Brother of Sultan Bajazet, lived during his first stay in Rhodes. He received magnificent

FIG. 110

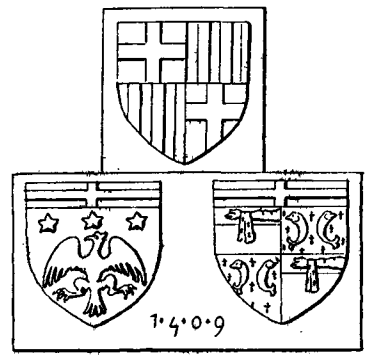

FIG. 111.

hospitality, which cost the Order the enormous sum of fifty thousand crowns of gold.

Next to this Palace stood the Auberge of Italy, which, according to Rottiers, was adorned with several fine shields. These have disappeared, and some time during the last century the house was altered and renovated to suit Turkish tastes. Only a big archway remains to show the building to have been ancient. This is walled up and used for the storage of salt, which in Turkey is a monopoly of the Government.

XIV

THE HOSPITAL—THE AUBERGES OF AUVERGNE AND ENGLAND—OLD HOUSES

On the opposite side of the road, and terminating the Street of the Knights, is the Hospital, the distinctive building of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John. The principal entrance is in the open square round the corner.

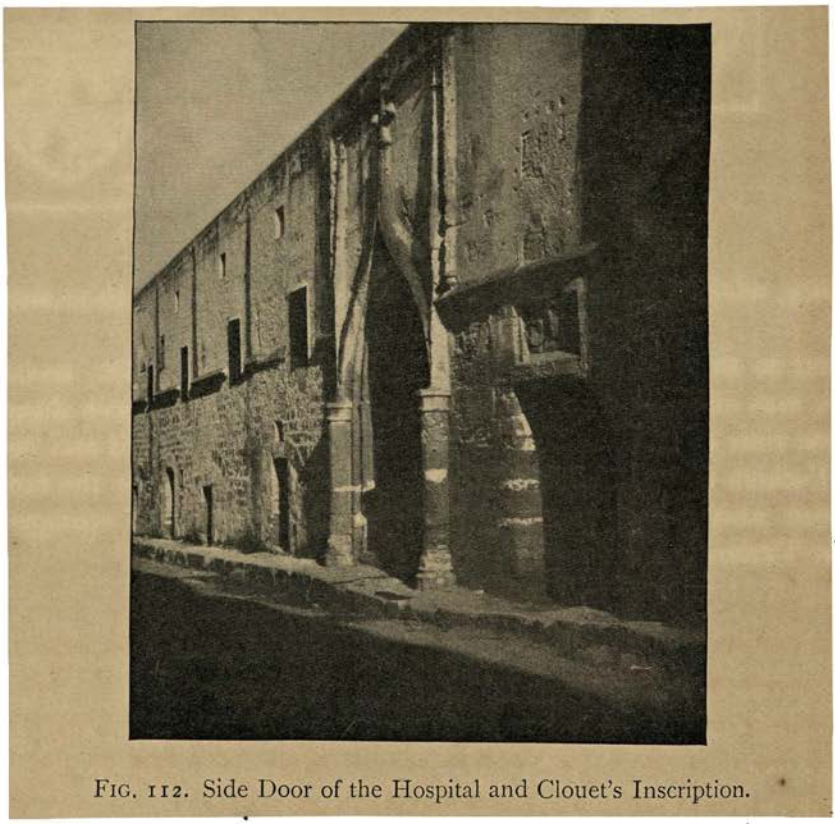

Fig. 112. Side Door of the Hospital and Clouet's Inscription.

In the street we find only a graceful side door with a tall ogee arch finished off with a high finial (Fig. 112). Picenardi mentions a large slab with two angels holding a banner, which he saw over it in 1900. But, like many of his other facts, this is fancy. There is no room there for such a slab, and

nowhere along the wall is there any sign of one having been removed. Next to this door is a small vaulted passage which gives access to the back of the building. It is over this passage that is seen the slab of grey marble mentioned by Rottiers, but the existence of which is doubted by Picenardi, who looked for it. That he did not find it seems extraordinary, for nobody passing by could well fail to notice it (Fig. 113).

The slab bears three coats of arms, the centre one set a little higher than the other two. The upper one is that of the Order, and on either side below it is that of the Knight Commander Clouet with its canting charge of two nails, or *clous*. Underneath is a scroll with a very interesting inscription, of course wrongly quoted by Rottiers. This shows the Hospital to have been completed in 1483 under the direction of Clouet, who was responsible also for the building of the Auberge of France. It was rebuilt on the site

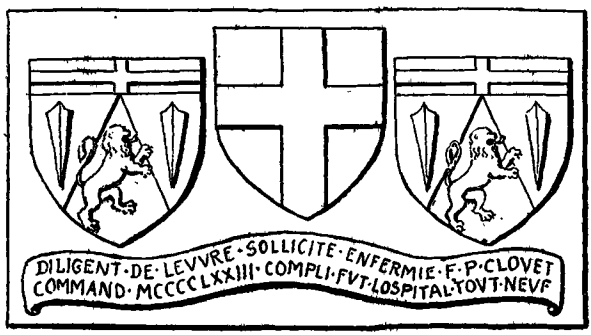

FIG. 113.

of an older hospital erected by Villaret in 1335. We know that about 1439 Grand Master Lastic began the foundations of this Hospital at the request of his predecessor Fluvian. The work was continued under his successors, Milly, Zacosta and Orsini, and finished under the Grand Mastership of d'Aubusson, whose shield is on the wall facing the street, side by side with that of the Order, both fixed in a flamboyant moulded border, in which is the date 1483. The building, which occupies about half an acre, is square, with an open courtyard in the centre. The ground floor in the street of the Knights and in the Hospital square consists of vaulted shops or warehouses belonging to various owners. At the time of the Knights the lower part of a house, or *domus bassa*, and the higher part, or *domus alta*, were often owned by different persons. In the case of the Hospital the front warehouses were appropriated to its Prior and chaplain (Fig. 114).

There are eight arches in the façade of the Hospital, and there is a covered gallery on the first floor. The entrance is through the fourth

arch from the Street of the Knights. It is early Gothic in style and decorated with the Byzantine torse-ornament (Fig. 115).

All round the courtyard inside the Hospital, now the Turkish barracks or *Kichla*, runs the cloister, where the convalescent found shade in summer and shelter in winter. It is beautifully vaulted in Gothic style, and the arches on the wall-side are supported on carved corbels. The vista presented by them is a joy to the eye of the archaeologist (Fig. 116).

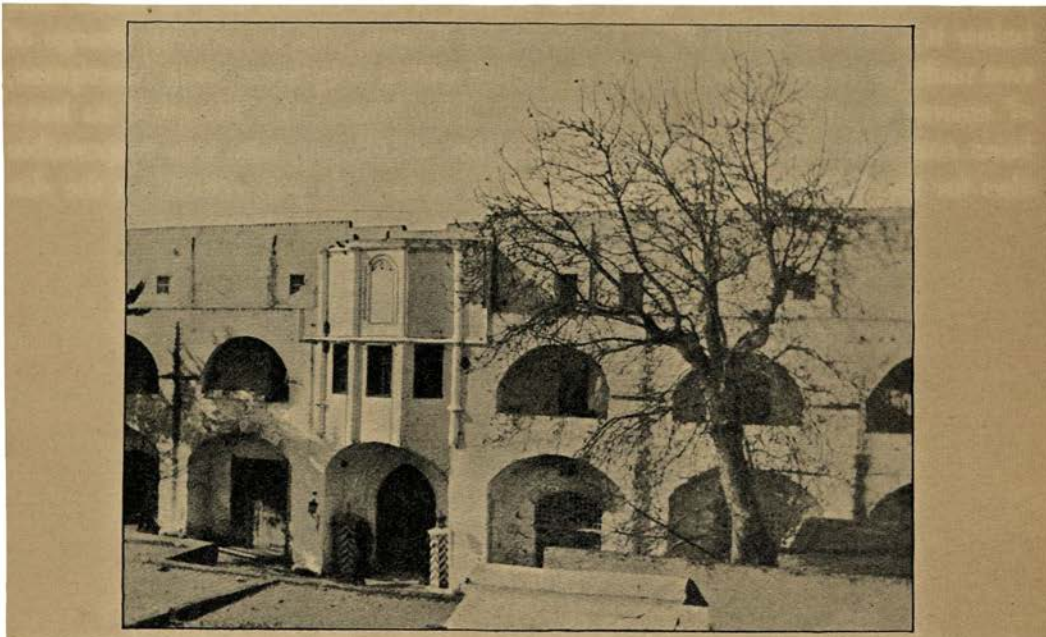

FIG. 114. General view of the Hospital.

On the first floor a covered gallery opens into the different rooms or wards. It is reached by an outside staircase, which is far from imposing, although Mr. Torr considers it to be so (Fig. 117).

The four sides of this first floor were originally occupied by four long rooms, one of which, along the Street of the Knights, remains still unchanged. It is used for Government stores. Its dimensions are 70 feet by 20. The walls show, under numerous coats of whitewash, signs of having been painted. The ceiling, 20 feet high, supporting a low-pitched roof, retains the original cypress timbers supported on carved brackets. Between these, and alternated, are shields of the Order and of Grand Master de Lastic. The back and left wings have been divided into several small rooms used by the commissariat department and the non-commissioned officers. The

whole of the front room was once the principal apartment of the Hospital: perhaps a ward; perhaps, as Rottiers suggests, a refectory. It is much wider than the others, and its slanting roof is supported along the whole length by arches resting on eight nonagonal columns, the capitals of which are adorned with the inevitable Byzantine torse-moulding, and on their nine

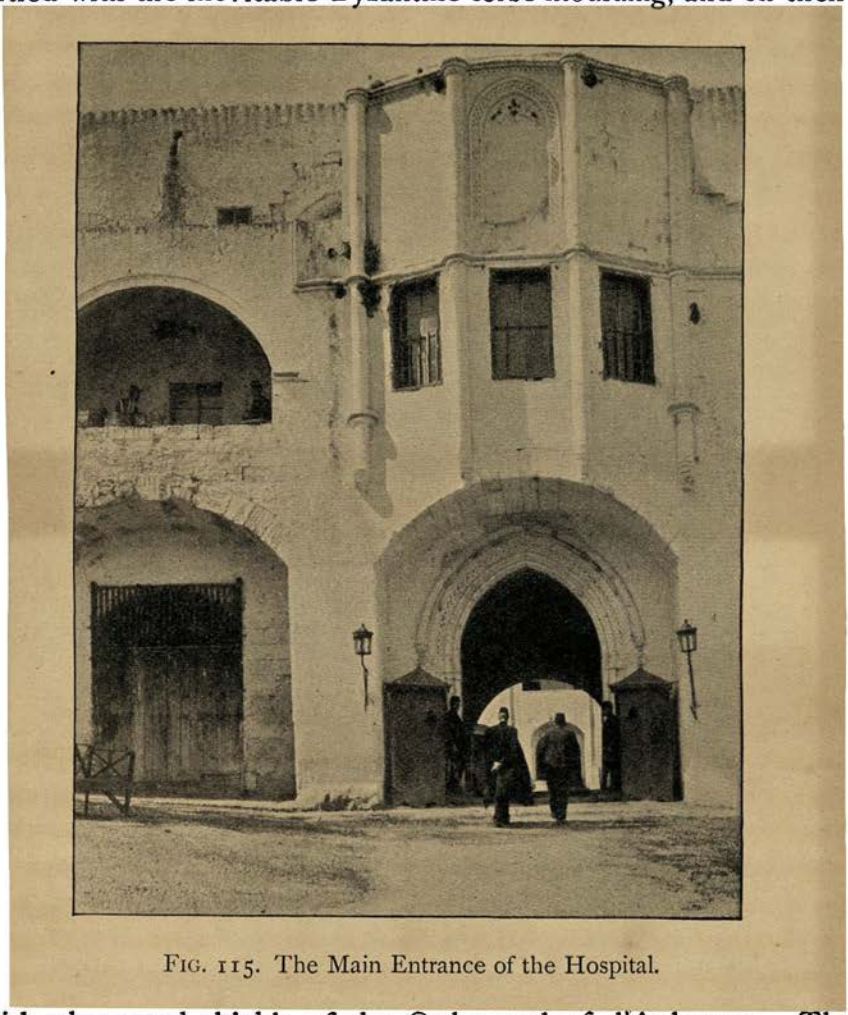

FIG. 115. The Main Entrance of the Hospital.

faces with alternated shields of the Order and of d'Aubusson. The roof retains also the original timbers, and between each the shields of Lastic and the Order (Figs. 118, 119).

But we found no trace of the fire-place which Rottiers saw in 1828, still black with the smoke of the Knights' fires. This fine room has now been divided into three. The central portion is the barrack mosque, and the other two the barrack bedrooms, where about 200 men are accommodated with

FIG. 116. The Cloister of the Hospital.

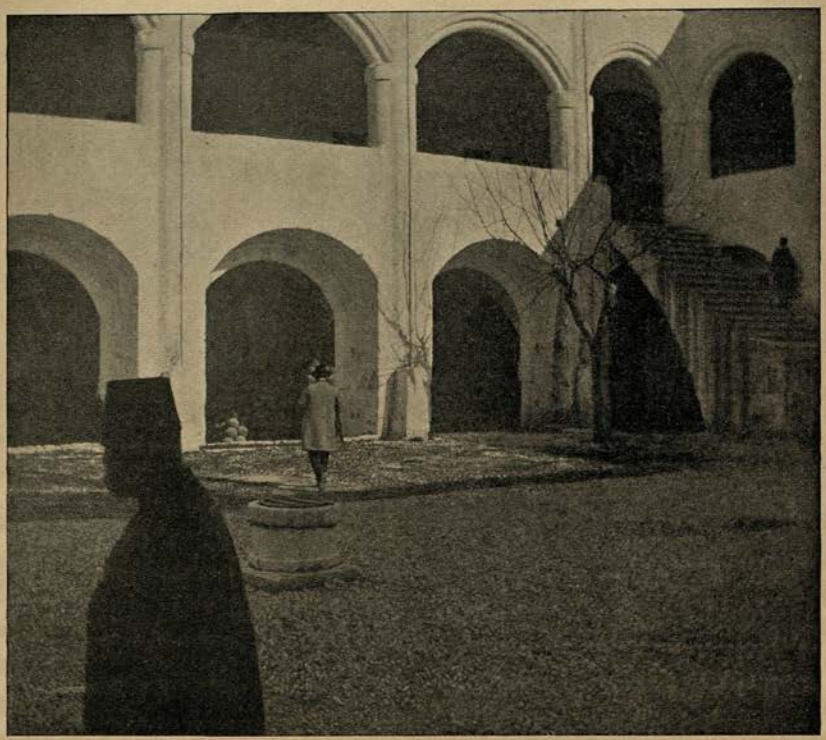

FIG. 117. The Courtyard of the Hospital, showing Stairs and Granaries.

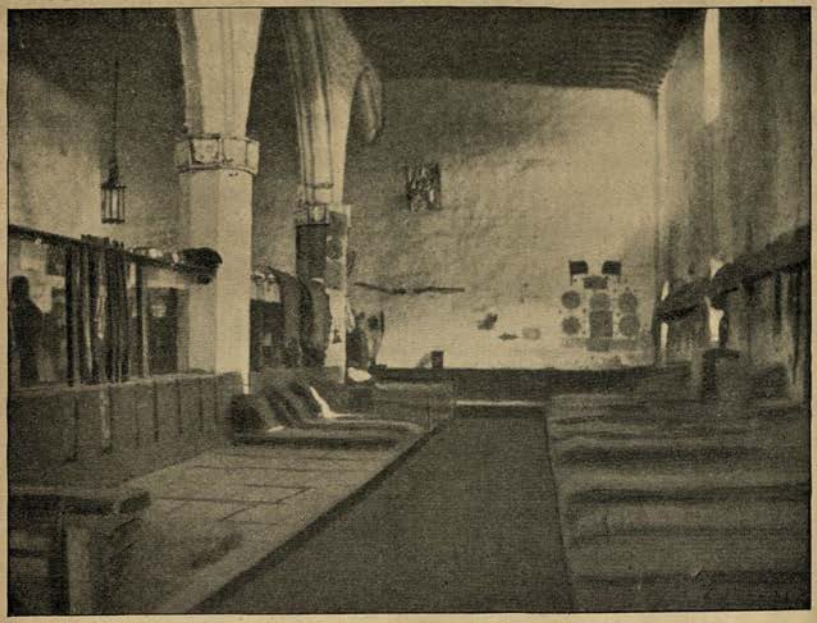

FIG. 118. The Barrack Rooms.

FIG. 119. Another view of the Barrack Rooms.

sleeping-boards. The mosque has a recess in the form of a three-sided bay-window, overhanging the main entrance in the square, and decorated outside and in with slender shafts and string-courses. The roof is vaulted, and shows on its boss the cross of the Order. It may have been the chapel where mass was said in the presence of the patients (Fig. 120).

Looking at the bay-window from the square, one notices a bare space on the wall with remains of Gothic framing, where some basso-relievo or a marble slab once stood—in all probability the angels and banner with

FIG. 120. The Mosque of the Hospital: ancient Chapel.

de Lastic's shield which Rottiers saw there, but which Picenardi placed elsewhere on the wall where it could not have been. The windows in this bay were probably made by the Turks to light the present mosque, as originally that part of the front room only received light from a door. The ground on which the Hospital is built being uneven, the courtyard is at its north-west corner on a higher level than the Street of the Knights, and in going out through the side door, which we have described, one has to descend thirteen steps. In this courtyard are the granaries, which were kept filled in case of emergency, and also the cistern for rain-water. A Turkish officer informed us that the whole of the building is built on extensive vaults, the entrance to which he showed us. But the place being unsafe, and not particularly interesting, we noted the fact without investigation.

The original wooden doors of the Hospital were presented to Prince de Joinville when he visited Rhodes in 1836. These can now be seen at the Cluny Museum in Paris. They are of cypress wood and beautifully carved.

The Knights of St. John received in their hospital patients of all creeds and nationalities, but principally pilgrims on their way to, or return from, the Holy Land. Two physicians and two surgeons were attached to the Hospital. The patients were visited twice a day, and the food supplied to them was good and abundant. Their principal diet consisted of fowl and good wine, and the dispensary was stocked with rare and costly drugs. Games of chess and draughts and the reading of chronicles and romances were forbidden. If a patient died he was carried to the burial ground by four men, dressed in black robes kept for the purpose. The Knights took great pride in the efficient maintenance of the Hospital. Numerous legacies were left to it, and it was under the superintendence of the Pillar of the Tongue of France, who styled himself the Grand Hospitaller. It was furnished with a quantity of valuable silver plate, which was looted by the Turkish Janizaries after the capitulation of 1522.

It is worth while to call attention to the foot-pavement that runs along the side of the Hospital in the Street of the Knights. It is formed of large grey marble slabs, some of them being ancient Greek tombstones. A few inches from the kerb-edge a groove runs the whole length of this pavement, which has been worn by more than 400 years of rainfall shooting out from the low-pitched roof of the Hospital (Fig. 121).

Before leaving the Street of the Knights let us mention that it was on many occasions the scene of gay pageants. Notably, a grand review was held there by Grand Master l'Isle Adam shortly before the last siege. On the 3rd of May, 1522, at the summons of drum and trumpet, the Knights of the different nations whose Auberges were in that street assembled in front of their respective Auberges wearing over their armour the red surcoat with the white cross. There were two hundred and ninety-five of these, including eleven English Knights. They had to swear that their armour and weapons were their own. On several days during the same month other reviews were held. There were marches past, with flying banners, of Knights, sailors, and mercenaries, all dressed in bright colours and rich uniforms. The Genoese sailors wore gold and purple, those from Venice green and purple satin.

It was down the Street of the Knights that the Janizaries, after their sacking of St. John's Church, ran to the plunder of the Hospital. The Turks to this day, by one of those poetical turns of speech of which they are so fond,

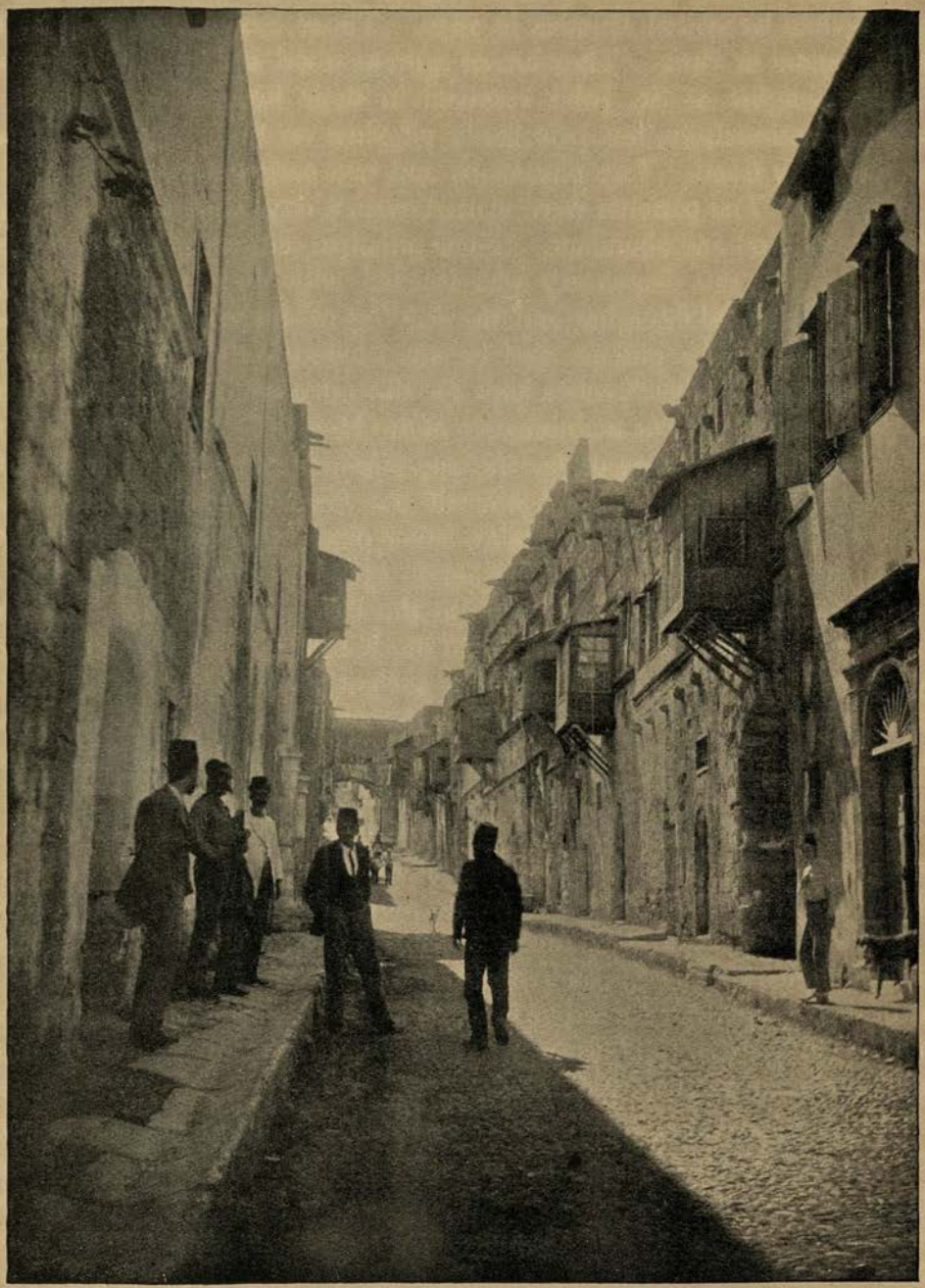

FIG. 121. The Street of the Knights, looking up. On the left the side-wall of the Hospital. Note the marble kerb-edge worn by four hundred years of rain falling from the roof.

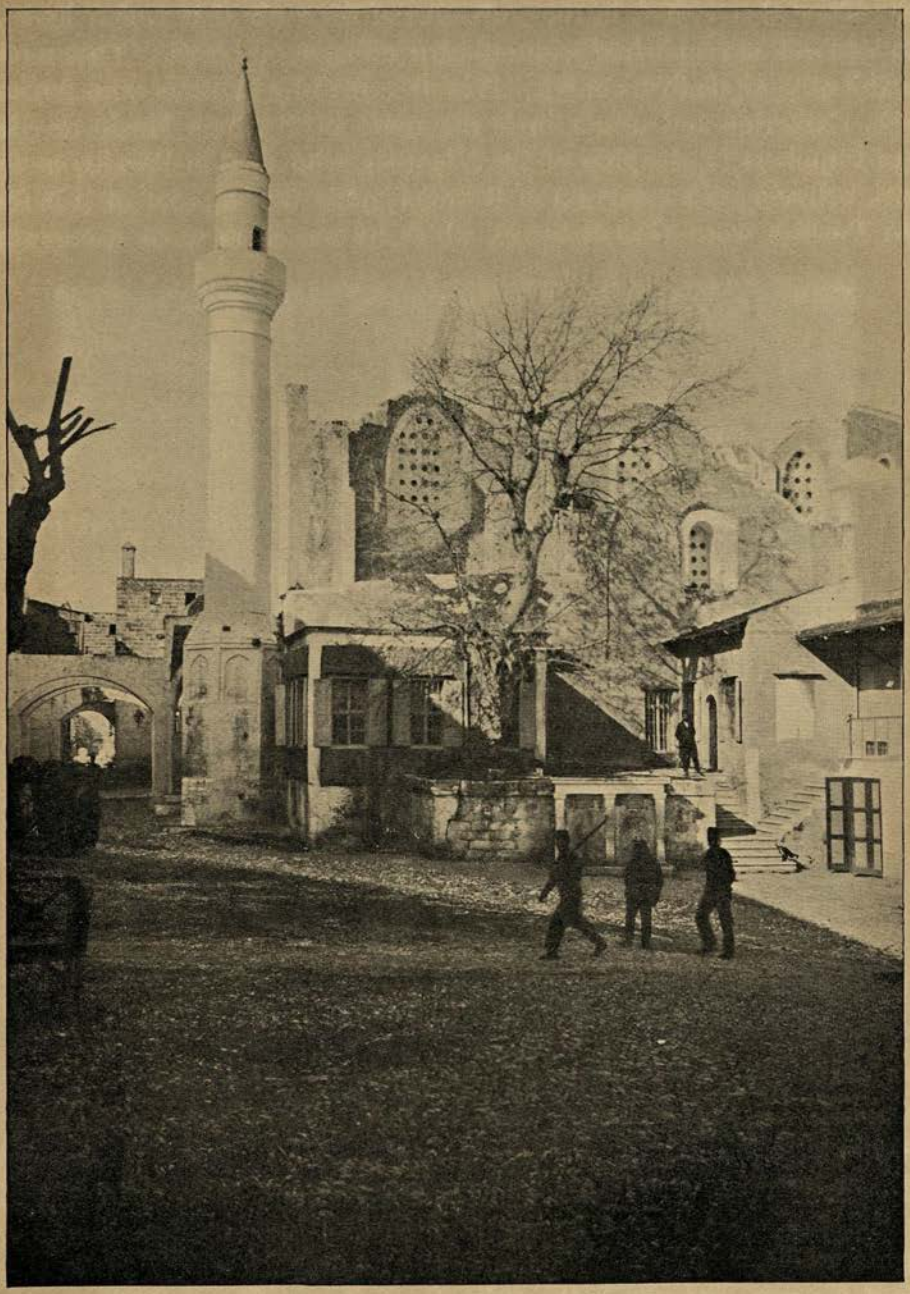

FIG. 122. Gandoohooree Mosque, ancient Church of the Holy Virgin. Through the arches on the left are seen some stone shot lying at the door of the Auberge of Auvergne.

call the mosque which stands at the bottom of this street *Gandoohooree*, or 'the blood that waits', in remembrance of the rush that ended here and which was not accomplished without some effusion of blood. This mosque was evidently originally a church. It is described by Rottiers, who dedicates it to St. Catherine and places in it the tomb of Princess Marie de Baux, wife of Humbert II, dauphin of the Viennois, who died in Rhodes in 1345. Biliotti, believing this assertion of Rottiers', adds that a proof of it is found in the Turkish word *Gandoohooree*, which he considers to be a corruption

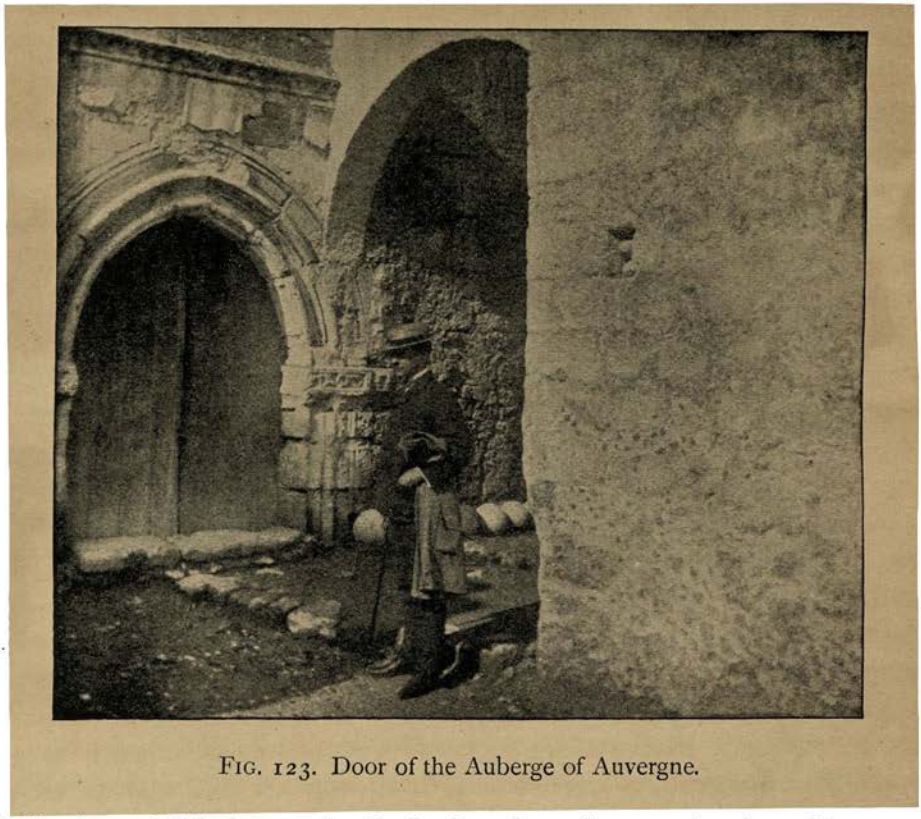

FIG. 123. Door of the Auberge of Auvergne.

of Catherine. This is too far-fetched to be taken seriously. No one has been able to say with certainty what the dedication of this church was. It is not likely to be to St. Catherine, for the church of that saint was in the Burgh, or town, and not in the Collachium. We are inclined to accept for once Rottiers' opinion, that it was the first church built in Rhodes by the Knights. In style it is unlike any of the others, being more massive and without a dome, and we shall ascribe it to Grand Master Villeneuve and call it the Church of the Holy Virgin, as we know that he built such a church before his death in 1346 (Fig. 122).

Marie de Baux, who died a year earlier, may have been buried there, and Rottiers may have seen the tomb. But there is nothing left of it now. The church is built in the shape of a Latin cross, and has a vaulted roof. The nave is 40 feet long. The style is early Gothic. There are four Gothic windows on each side, once filled with elaborate stained glass, of which Rottiers gave a fanciful description. The porch is modern and decidedly Turkish, and a minaret has been built on the base of a campanile destroyed either by the enemy's artillery or by an earthquake.

A few yards from this church, and at the end of the narrow street that starts from its door, stands a building never before described, and which, needless to say, has, with many others, escaped Picenardi's notice. It is the Auberge of Auvergne (Fig. 123). Although its façade and door are characteristic, no shields adorn it. It is one of the oldest of the Knights' buildings, and one which, like the church of which we have just spoken, has survived the two sieges and the earthquake that followed. Over its Gothic door is a white marble slab where one can read an interesting inscription (Fig. 124). This Guy de Blanchefort became Grand Master in 1512. We do not understand the meaning of the apocalyptic beast with no fore-legs. It may have been a badge of Blanchefort's. There are traces of stone shields on either side of the carved doorway, but they are too worn to be decipherable. The Auberge of Auvergne and its dependencies occupied a large area. What is left of the original buildings is now used by the Turks for the storage of ammunition and explosives, and a powder magazine has been built in the grounds. A few windows show traces of mouldings. In its vast courtyard we discovered the chapel of the Tongue, now a military store-house. It is built over a vaulted crypt, and is reached by twelve outside stone steps. It consists simply of a nave 40 feet by 20. No trace of decoration is to be found inside, and the porch is gone (Fig. 125). Over the door is a shield of Grand Master de Pins, and on a large building close by are two more shields, one of de Pins and one of the Order, which show it to have been built in the fourteenth century. The chapel itself receives its light from two lancet windows on either side of the door which retain their original iron grating.

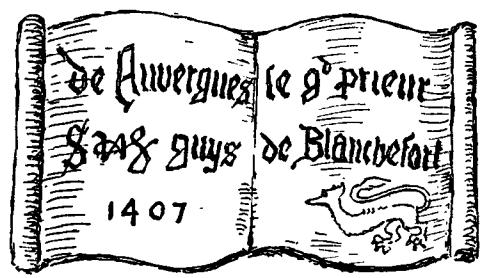

FIG. 124.

Coming out of the courtyard, we find ourselves once more in the old

Garden of Auvergne, of which we have already spoken, and in these grounds are two buildings worthy of notice. The first is built against the wall near Heredia's Tower, and seems to have been originally a store-house, then a Turkish powder-magazine. It is decorated with the shields of de Milly and Orsini, both side by side with that of the Order (Fig. 126). A few yards off, and recessed in the rampart itself, is a small chamber where old armour and broken helmets, once worn by the Hospitallers or their soldiers, are kept in baskets rusting away. At the extreme west end of the garden, now an orange grove, we find, among the remains of walls and terraces,

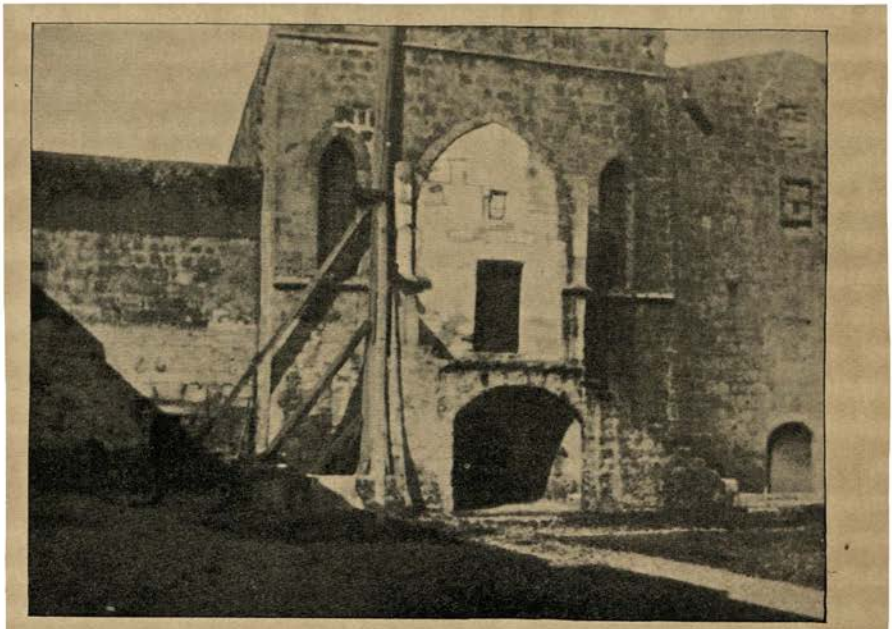

FIG. 125. The Chapel of the Auvergne Tongue.

a small chapel, built, as we judge from an inscription which we read in 1900 but which has since been removed, in 1499 by an Italian Knight named Poissasco, once Admiral of the Order, or Pillar of the Tongue of Italy. It is rectangular in shape, and consists merely of a nave with a semicircular apse. It measures 30 feet by 20, and its vaulted roof is 24 feet high. At the junction of the apse with the body of the church are two columns, the capitals of which are ornamented with Poissasco's shield: (arg.) *nine birds*, 3, 3, *and* 3 (sable), *with a chief of the Order*. There is only a square window over the entrance, where we notice a fine Greek marble frieze. An outside niche must at one time have been filled with some basso-relievo, and a course of torse-ornament runs round the building. Why this

chapel was built there we cannot say. It was probably attached to the residence of the Knights of Poissasco, who were numerous in the Order, or perhaps it was a dependency of the Auberge of Italy which stood close by. Curious to say, the charges on the shield of Poissasco are identical with those on another shield which we found in the European quarter, and which bears under it the name DE AYRASCHA, with the date 1513 (Fig. 127).

On the south side of the Hospital square and in the corner adjoining a large square tower, on the top of which we found the curious chapel of England, stood the Auberge of that Tongue. About fifty years ago the

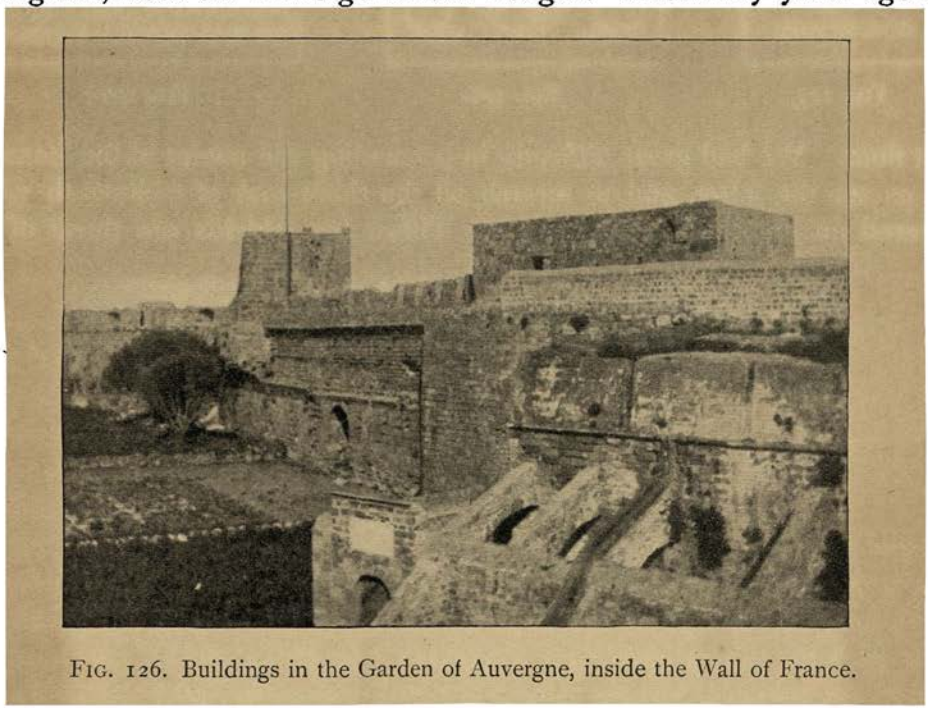

FIG. 126. Buildings in the Garden of Auvergne, inside the Wall of France.

façade was still adorned with the shield of England carved in grey marble and supported by two lions. This is now on the top of a fountain in the courtyard of the Turkish Military Hospital, which stands in what was the Grand Master's garden (Fig. 128). There were also several other shields, which, according to Biliotti, were removed in 1845 by Vice-Consul Wilkinson and sold to a General Fox. All that remains of the Auberge of England is a vaulted hall, in which two round columns support a large archway. A Greek merchant has his warehouse and offices there now.

Apart from churches and buildings connected with the different tongues of the Order, there are also in the Collachium several houses worthy of notice. One, for instance, forms the left-hand top corner of the narrow

street running parallel with that of the Knights, and is close to where St. John's Church stood. Four shields are to be seen there. Two over the entrance, those of Milly and the Order, and two others inside a room on the

FIG. 127.

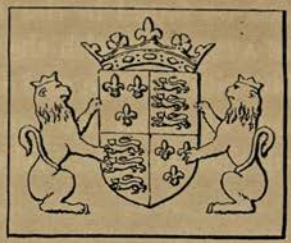

FIG. 128.

FIG. 129.

first floor. We had great difficulty in persuading the owner of the house to let us see the latter, and to scratch off the thick coat of whitewash which covered an inscription below them. These two shields are those of the

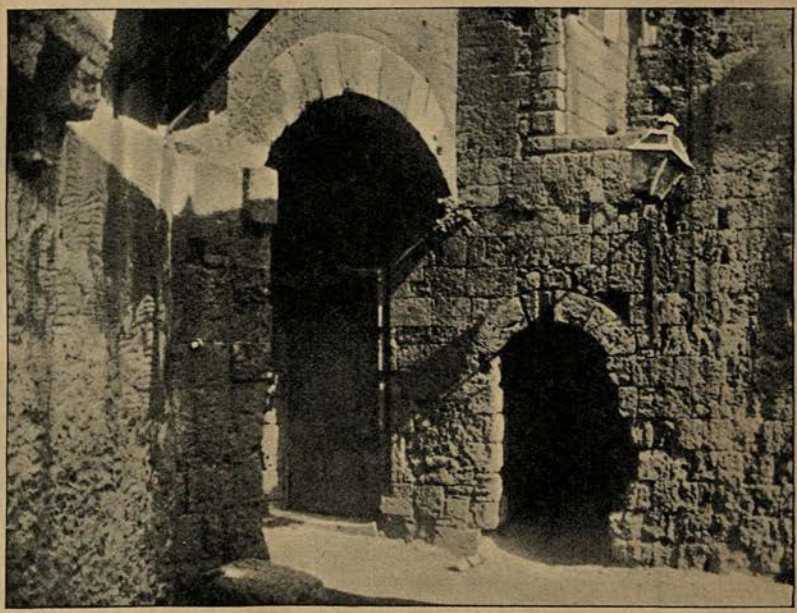

FIG. 130. Ancient House in the Collachium.

Order and of Knight Jerome de Canel, a Castellan or High Judge, with a chief of the Order. We give here a sketch of the marble slab. It bears this magistrate's motto, one appropriate to his office (Fig. 129).

In the courtyard of this house, which seems to have been of some

importance, are fine Greek inscriptions, which will be found in the French Corpus of Greek Inscriptions for Rhodes. This may have been the Castellan's residence. The Castellan was an official of some standing, chosen in rotation in the different Tongues amongst Knights of eight years' service at least.

Further down the same street is another and still more curious house, but it is too ruinous for description. The street is here arched over, and in the passage so formed is a low mediaeval door with the curved chevron head ornamented with a shield bearing a lion. The first floor is reached by an outside staircase, but the few rooms which remain have no armorial decorations to tell us who lived there (Fig. 130).

FIG. 131.

On the opposite wall of the street and carelessly fixed in are two shields which puzzled us greatly. One bears a bullock's head with pendant tongue, and it is side by side with the shield of the Order, a privilege reserved to the Grand Masters alone. As the charge of a bullock's head does not appear in the arms of any of the Grand Masters, and as these shields are roughly carved on stone, we presume that they were not the work of the Knights and were set up at a later date (Fig. 131).

Several other shields are found in different parts of the Collachium, sketches of which will be found in these pages. And no doubt if one could penetrate inside all these houses, now so well guarded by the jealous Turk, one would find much more to write about.

XV

THE BURGH OR TOWN

As we have said, a line of walls, part of which still exists, divided the Collachium from the town proper or Burgh. It was there that the European merchants, and also the Greeks and the Jews, resided. The description

FIG. 132. In the Burgh.

FIG. 133. In the Burgh.

which we have given above of the quaint Collachium may well apply to many parts of the Burgh. We find the same narrow streets, the same dark passages, the same desolation (Figs. 132–6).

Many interesting buildings of the Knights are still to be found there, and amongst them the barracks, which also have escaped the notice of Picenardi and other authors. These occupied the large quadrangle comprised between the Collachium wall and the street, now the principal

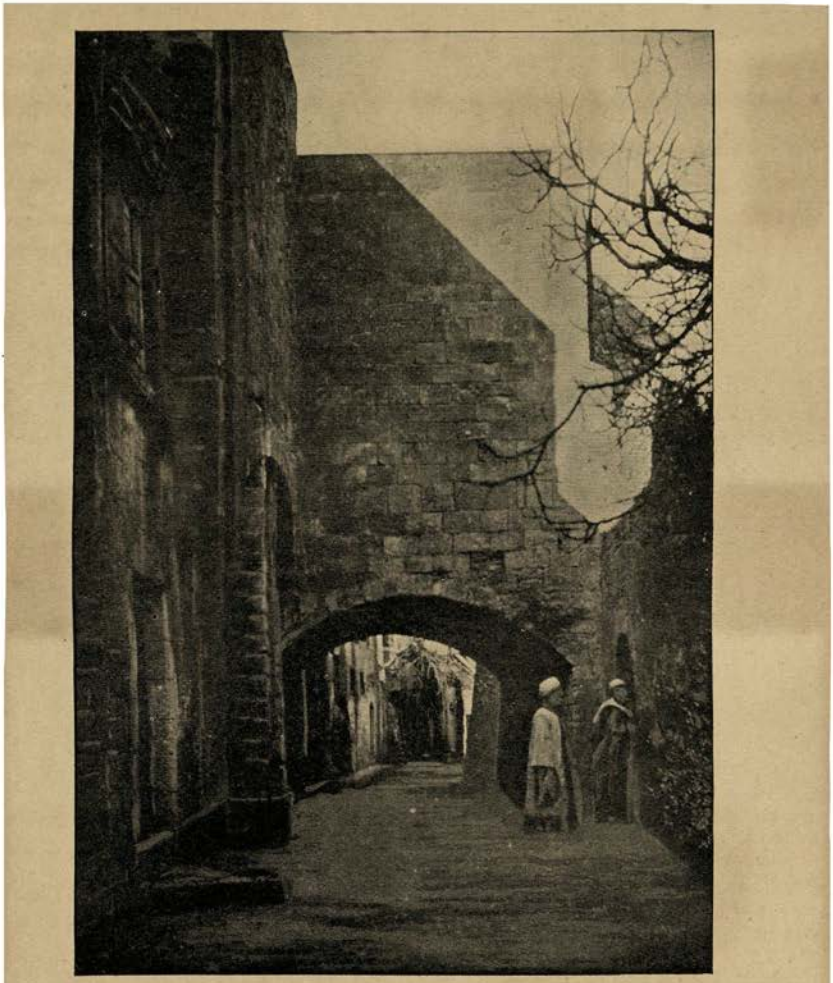

FIG. 134. In the Burgh.

thoroughfare of the Turkish bazaar or market. In the centre of the barracks was a courtyard, through which a street now passes. The back of the barracks shows them to have been formed of a succession of vaulted buildings, the walls of which are finished off with low gables. A Turkish café has been built against the main entrance in the market street, but above the low roof of this one can see on the wall a white marble shield

FIG. 136. In the Burgh.

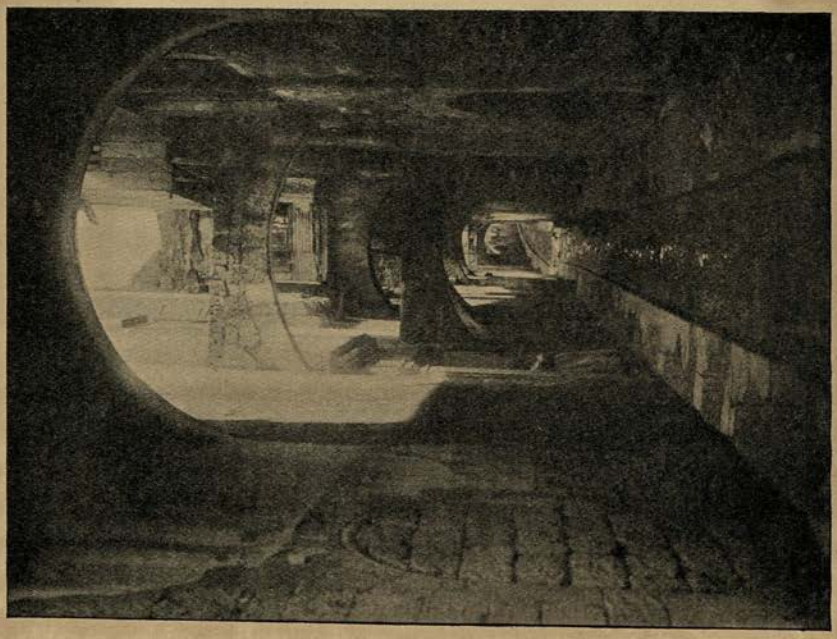

FIG. 135. In the Burgh.

bearing the arms of Carretto. The barracks covered an area of about three thousand square yards, and might have been able to accommodate from two to three thousand soldiers. Rottiers, in his series of Rhodian pictures, gives a fanciful sketch of the building.

Another important building which still exists almost in its entirety is the Castellania or Civil and Criminal Court. It stands in the lower part of the town, close to St. Catherine's gate. The building is square, and similar in style to the Auberge of France. It dates from the end of the

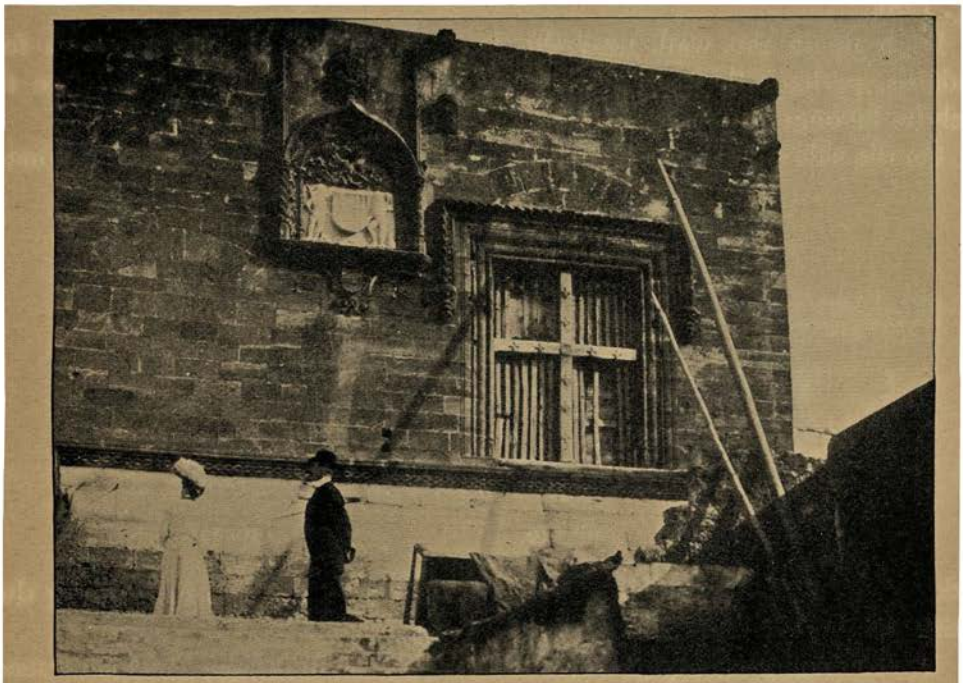

FIG. 137. The Castellania.

fifteenth century, and is no doubt the work of the same architect. The ground floor is occupied by a vast guard-room, finely vaulted in the Gothic style, and upheld by massive columns, the capitals of which are ornamented with the shield of Amboise. The original fire-place is there still. Connected with the guard-room is the old public jail. The cells are ten in number, some fairly large, others very small and dark and below the level of the street (Fig. 137).

The first floor of the Castellania is reached by an imposing staircase, now a favourite resort of fishermen, who can here expose their baskets of fish to advantage. From its steps one gets a good view of the principal

façade, on which the white marble shield of Amboise, quartered with that of the Order and supported by two men in armour, stands in strong relief in its flamboyant shrine of dark stone. To the right of it is a fine window with a mullion and transom of white marble ornamented with *fleurs-de-lys* and the monogram of Christ at the point of section. The whole is encased in deep mouldings with a square hood of the torse pattern. A small stone shield in the moulding under that of d'Amboise probably belonged to the Castellan or High Judge in office at the time of the erection of the building (Fig. 138).

High up in the wall, near the terraced roof, are three supports for standards, perhaps those of the Order, the Castellan and the Tongue to which he belonged.

On the side of the Castellania facing the Burgh are two more mullioned

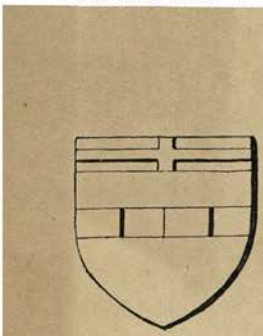

FIG. 138.

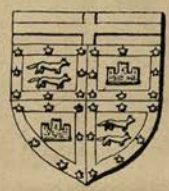

FIG. 139.

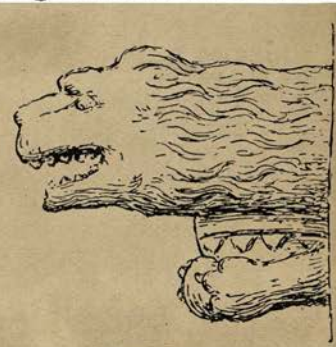

FIG. 140.

windows, and at the top of the wall three stone gargoyles representing the heads of two crocodiles and a lion (Fig. 140).

If we ascend the steps, we find at the top a small terrace on which opens a door, with very elegantly carved grey marble jambs and over-door. In the centre of the over-door an angel holds two shields, one of Amboise, the other of the Order. On either side is a shield suspended from pine-cones or thistles (Fig. 141). The left-hand shield is that of l'Isle Adam when Grand Prior of France. He quarters with his own coat (which was *or, and a chief azure, over all a maunche ermine with a right-hand argent*), *ermine, two fishes* (bass ?) *addorsed, for Nesle,* his mother's family, and has a chief of the Order. The right-hand shield belongs to an unknown Knight, probably a Castellan or Grand Bailiff; or, according to Berg, to a commander Waldener of the German Tongue (Fig. 139). The whole of the jambs and over-door is covered with tongues of fire. This door leads to a terrace above the prison, and on the right is the court-house over the guard-room below. It is

a large square hall, now absolutely bare of ornaments and used as a mosque by some of the poorer Turks in this part of the town.

Proceeding from the Castellania in a south-easterly direction towards the Jewish quarter, we soon find ourselves in a fairly large square, called in the time of the Knights the Square of the Court of Commerce, or Saint Sebastian's Square, or The Square. Some buildings here attract our notice. On the right is a small mosque, once the Church of St. Sebastian, of which we shall speak later. Next to it is a row of arches now built up into small

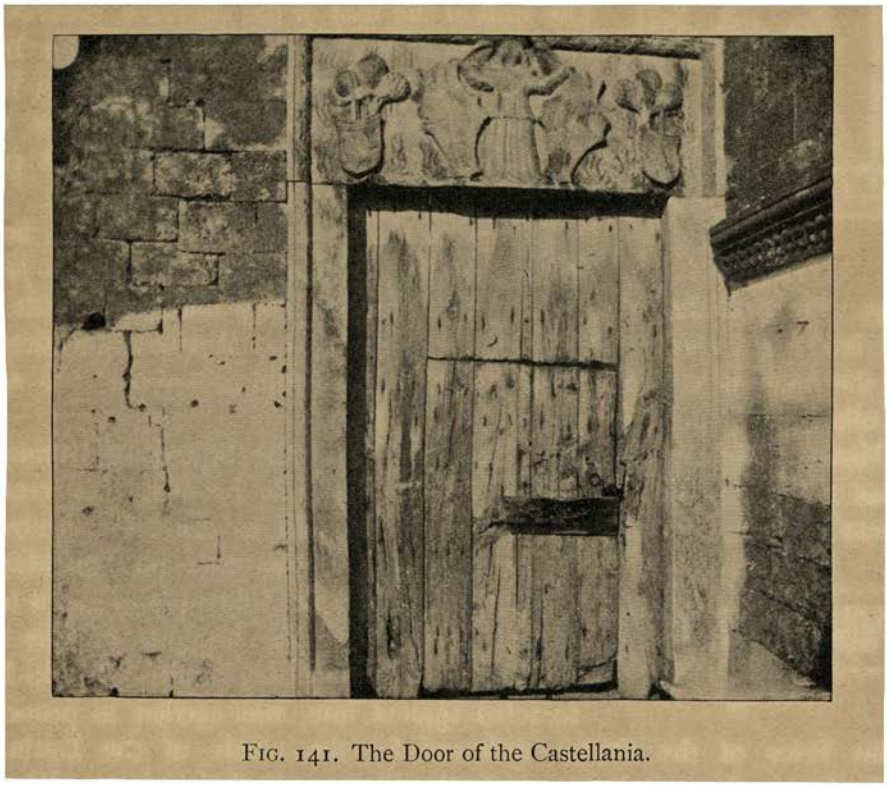

FIG. 141. The Door of the Castellania.

dwellings. This formed the ground floor of the old Court of Commerce, the first floor of which was destroyed either during the last siege or by an earthquake. Here all commercial cases were tried before the Bailiff of Commerce and a judge. The bailiff was always a Knight of some years' service, and was chosen in rotation amongst the different Tongues. The judges, whether of first instance or of appeal, were not Knights, and held their appointments for two years. At the expiration of the term of office of the bailiff and the judges a committee of fifteen members sat for a fortnight to inquire into any complaint made against them.

On the opposite side of the Square we see a good-sized house with heavily moulded mullioned windows and a Gothic door, over which is a square slab of marble carved with a chamfron-shaped shield bearing three flags and ensigned with a dove with wings displayed (Fig. 142). Also a marble inscription adorns the façade (Fig. 143).

Fig. 142.

Inside this house is a fairly large courtyard with a stone staircase leading to the first floor. The wall at the foot of the staircase, according to Rottiers, was decorated with a rood in basso-relievo. There is no trace of this now, but if Rottiers is correct, and considering the tenor of the inscription, we may have here the palace of the Catholic Bishop (Fig. 144).

None of the original rooms remain in this building, which is now inhabited by a Jewish family. Part of the roof has even collapsed, and nothing is left that could lead to a sure identification of its purpose. Rottiers considered it to be the Admiralty. But this is, of course, ridiculous, because it is not in the Collachium.

Many notable events have taken place in the Square of Commerce. It was there that Prince Djem, Sultan Bajazet's brother, was received in great state on his coming to Rhodes in 1482 to claim the protection of the Knights. It was there that, on May 23, 1484, the hand of St. John, patron saint of the Order, presented to the Knights by this same Sultan in hopes that they might not help Djem to rebel against him, was carried in procession by the Prior of the Order, followed by the whole of the Latin and Greek clergy, the merchants, and all citizens and their wives. We read that, reposing in a beautiful reliquary of carved ivory and crystal, it was taken that day from St. Catherine's chapel in the Grand Master's Palace to its resting-place in the Conventual Church of St. John. This same hand was later in Malta, and is now in Russia, having been offered to the Emperor Paul I by the last Grand Master Hompesh in 1798. On the occasion of this procession the Square of Commerce was entirely covered in with awnings and the houses round were hung with rich tapestries and carpets. A temporary altar had been erected in front of the Court of Commerce, where St. John's hand was exposed to the people, to whom the Prior told

Fig. 143.

the story of its origin. It was also in the same Square, and in front of the Court of Commerce, that the Greek Metropolitan Bishop, Clement, roused the courage of the Greek populace during the siege of 1522 by displaying the celebrated eikon of Our Lady of Phileremos which had been carried on that occasion to the neighbouring Church of St. Mark, which we shall presently describe. This eikon, evidently the work of a Byzantine artist, was found in a monastery on Mount Phileremos, and was carried round the city on all critical occasions, such as in time of plague, siege or earthquake (Fig. 145).

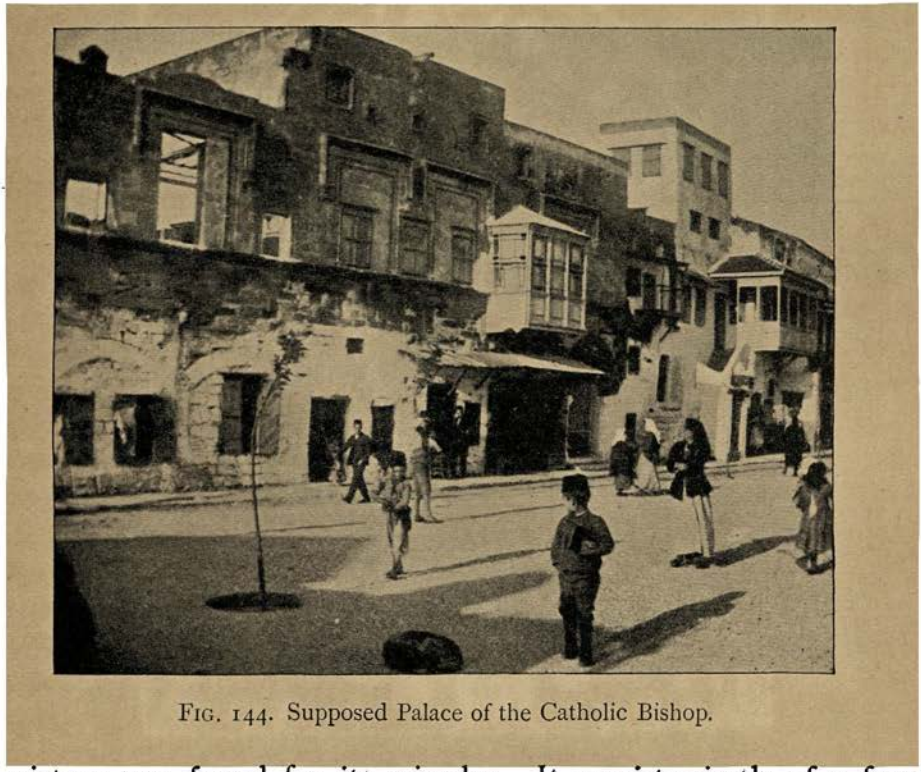

FIG. 144. Supposed Palace of the Catholic Bishop.

The picture was famed for its miracles. It consists simply of a female head, behind which has been painted the 'Maltese' cross of the Order. The face is almost hidden by a kind of silver horse-shoe-shaped ornament studded with precious stones, presumably meant for a decorated nimbus, such as is often found on the head of the Virgin. At the taking of Malta by Napoleon in 1798 it was despoiled of the precious stones that adorned it, and Hompesh obtained leave to take the picture away. It was later presented, with St. John's hand, to the Emperor Paul I, at whose death it was deposited in the Gatshina Palace in St. Petersburg. It is every year exposed to public worship, and is extremely popular in Russia.

Proceeding along the wide thoroughfare that ends the Square to the south, we are confronted with a large square building, once St. Catherine's Hospital and now the Jewish girls' school. This building also has escaped Picenardi's notice, and has not been described. The ground floor is vaulted,

FIG. 145.

and a large Gothic door gives access to the courtyard. The first floor is reached by a wide outside stone staircase. The rooms, or wards, are large, very high and capable of accommodating a considerable number of people. Pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land were housed there. Nicholas of Este, in 1443, found it very beautifully appointed. Robert of San Severino also lodged there in 1458. On the façade of the hospital are three shields, placed two and one. The two above are those of Carretto quartered with that of the Order, and that of an unknown Knight

bearing a Catherine-wheel, possibly of the Tongue of Italy, whose patron was St. Catherine. The lower shield bears a castle and a chief of the Order. It is dated 1415, which shows the hospital to be one of the oldest buildings of the Knights now remaining (Fig. 146).

On the façade overlooking the sea we notice the shield of another unknown Knight, probably an Italian (Fig. 147).

The hospital was rather a house of refuge or rest than a regular receptacle for the sick. It was an Italian foundation under the supervision of the Pillar of the Tongue of Italy, and of course enjoyed the special patronage of any Italian who might be elected Grand Master. Carretto's shield was certainly added in the latter days of the Knights. The hospital necessarily had a chapel attached to it, and we find it a few yards off, in the third house on the same side of the street that runs past its door. Although

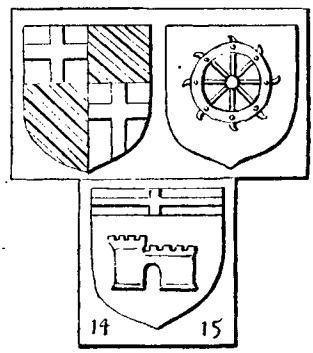

FIG. 146.

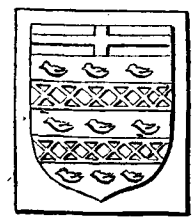

FIG. 147.

the space between this chapel and the hospital is now built over, the two buildings must have communicated in the time of the Knights. The chapel, now inhabited by a Jewish family, is very small. It is in the shape of a Greek cross twenty-five feet in length, and has a small dome. We believe it to be the identical one built by Knight Alemagna, Admiral of the Order in 1385, as an annexe in conjunction with the hospital. Amongst the hospital endowments were the first, fourth, and ninth mills on the Mole of the Windmills. We have now done with the public buildings and institutions in the Burgh.

There are several handsome houses, notably in the Jewish quarter which at the time of the Knights was the best in the town (Fig. 148). But these were probably private residences. One with a large Gothic portal is close to the walls of Italy; another (Fig. 149), in the centre of the quarter, bears on a square curved shield with a bouche an Italian coat of arms:

FIG. 148. Old House in the Jewish Quarter.

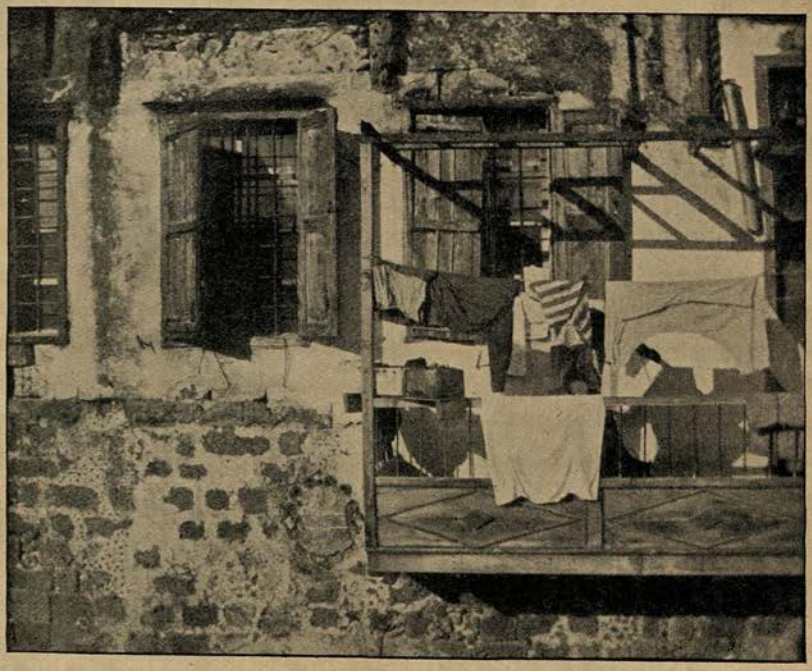

FIG. 149. Old Italian House in the Burgh.

a fesse charged with a star between three birds facing to the sinister (Fig. 150). These houses are shown on our map. Everywhere are heavily

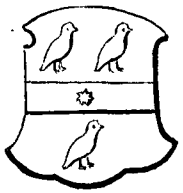

FIG. 150.

moulded doors, mullioned windows, and coats of arms, some of Grand Masters, others of unknown families. We have sketched them all, and are giving special plates of the shields found in the Burgh and the Collachium, besides those of Grand Masters (Figs. 151–3).

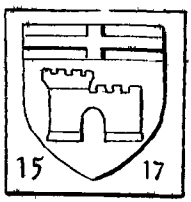

FIG. 151.

FIG. 152 *a*.

FIG. 152 *b*.

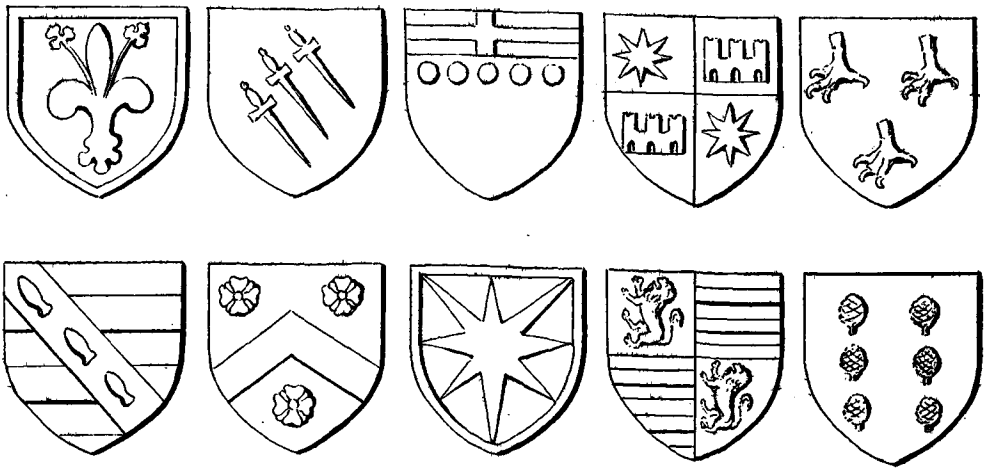

FIG. 153.

XVI

THE CHURCHES AND CHAPELS OF THE BURGH

We shall try to fix the positions of the numerous churches and chapels, referred to in the different works on the Order, a task of no little difficulty, and one which has not before been attempted. There were a great many in the Burgh, none of which seem to have been rightly placed by modern writers. Picenardi is decidedly wrong when he says that their names are all that remains of them. It is true that since the Turkish occupation they have all been converted into mosques, and their appearance has in some cases been much altered. But in spite of this we have had no difficulty in finding the principal ones, and have conjectured, we hope with some probability, the present whereabouts of the less important.

Fig. 154.

We shall speak first of the Latin cathedral, commonly styled Collossensis, and also known as St. Mary of the Burgh. We know it to have been close to the bishop's residence and to the walls. There is now in the Jewish quarter, and in the wide street of which we have spoken as running from St. Sebastian's Square to St. Catherine's Hospital, the ruin of a fine church which, in our opinion, is undoubtedly the cathedral. Several columns, the capitals of which are as sketched here (Fig. 154), are still standing, and the transept arches forming part of the adjoining houses show it to have been a noble building for its size. It was 100 feet long by 40 feet wide. In the south corner are the remains of the vestry. The area of the church is now covered with low-built Jewish houses and warehouses, above which some columns protrude. One can get a fair idea of its plan by ascending the wooden staircase leading to the first floor of one of these houses. Bosio tells us of a side chapel in the cathedral dedicated to St. Bernardin, where Commander Pommerol, Pillar of the Tongue of Provence, was buried during the last siege, having died from a fall in the ditch of England. We also know that before the

siege of 1522 all the Knights went in solemn procession to attend service there at the Grand Master's command. We believe the cathedral to have been built on the site of the old Metropolitan church which the Knights appropriated on the taking of Rhodes in 1310.

Our Lady of the Victory in the extreme south-east corner of the town was built right against the wall of Italy and not 'near it', as Picenardi says

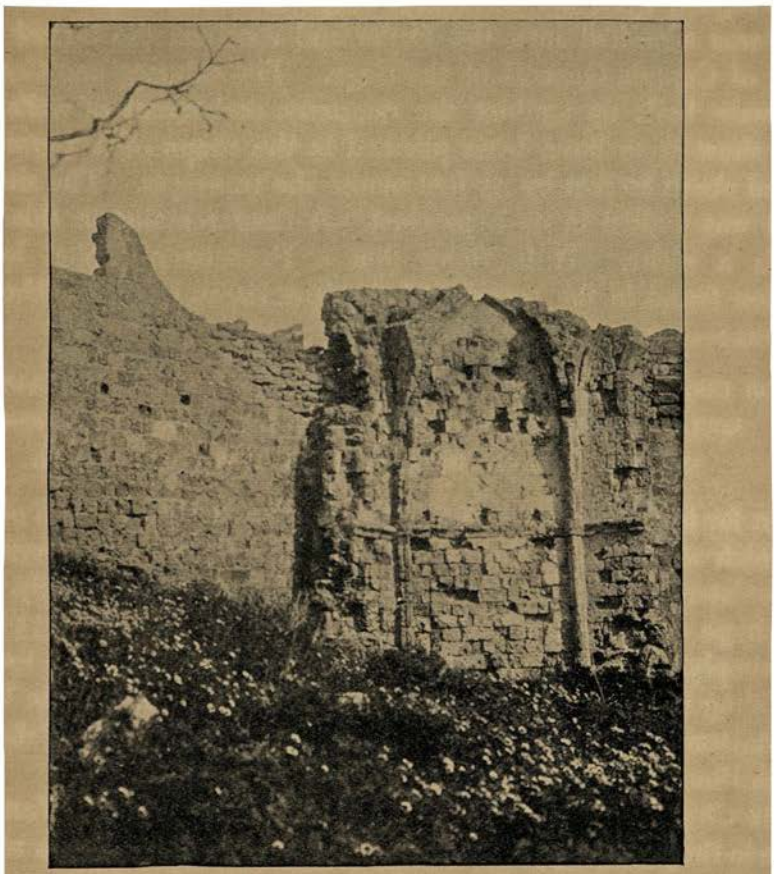

FIG. 155. Ruins of Our Lady of the Victory.

(Fig. 155). It was erected in 1481 by Grand Master d'Aubusson, in commemoration of the happy ending of the first siege, on the spot that had been most in danger. A garden, and some Jewish houses, destroyed by the Turkish guns, were bought by him for the purpose. Many Knights, and amongst them George Owen, of the English Tongue, contributed towards its erection. It was furnished by the Grand Master with plate and ornaments, and indulgences were granted by Pope Innocent VIII to the faithful who worshipped

there. On July 6, 1503, three days after d'Aubusson's death, a solemn service was held in the Church of Our Lady of the Victory. It was here that Grand Master l'Isle Adam had his head quarters at the beginning of the last siege. But later on, the Turks having succeeded in taking the terre-plein of Italy, and it having been found necessary to strengthen that part of the defences, the church was partially demolished. It was in this church also that in August, 1522, the celebrated Engineer Martinengo, the soul of the defence, was admitted into the Order and received the Grand Cross and insignia of Captain-General of the siege. The columns and Gothic arches that remain built up against the ramparts, and traces of walls along the ground, show it to have been planned in the shape of a Latin cross. It measured about 80 feet by 45 feet across the transepts. The site on which it stood was walled in as a precinct. A door remains in this wall, over which is a niche. It is there that a Franciscan copied in 1743 an inscription found in the records of the Franciscan house in Rhodes, which reads thus :—

OB INSIGNEM VICTORIAM DE TVRCIS A COELO RHODIIS DEMISSAM
ECCLESIAM SANCTÆ MARIÆ DE VICTORIA PETRVS DAVBVSSON
MAGISTER EREXIT MCCCCLXXX AB INC. XII. AVGVSTI.

Not far from Our Lady of the Victory is the Greek Church of St. Pantaleon, which was built at the same time and for the same reason. This is still in existence and is used now as a house by a Jewish family. It also is in the shape of a Latin cross, but measures only 60 feet by 35 feet. The roof is simply vaulted. No ornaments or mouldings are to be found inside; the building is in itself uninteresting. Both Our Lady of the Victory and St. Pantaleon were destroyed, says Vertot, towards the end of the last siege, although Bourbon says they were only partly pulled down.

The Church of St. Sebastian still exists, and is now the Yamee Djeelee Mosque in the Jewish square. It originally had a nave and two aisles. Only one of the latter remains, the southern; the other has been walled in and converted into a dwelling-house. As it stands now the church measures 50 feet by 20 feet, and 20 feet high. A large archway, supported on heavy round columns, divides the nave from the south aisle. Each of these is vaulted, the arches springing from slender columns. Nowhere is any trace of mouldings to be seen, and all is thickly coated with whitewash. Outside, at the north-west corner, a carved bracket once held a banner. It was in front of this church that d'Aubusson stood to receive Prince Djem when he landed at Rhodes in great state on July 24, 1482. The Grand Master was

surrounded by the Grand Priors, the Bailiffs and a number of Knights. All were richly dressed, and wore fine gold chains round their necks. The younger Knights acted as pages.

St. Mark's Church, wrongly placed on the Admiralty map of Rhodes (chart 1637), is now undeniably the Turkish baths at the bottom of the main street of the Bazaar, and, as Merry Dupuis says, near the Castle or Collachium (Fig. 156). Picenardi never found it. It is a very ancient building, having been built by the Venetians before the Knights came to Rhodes, according to a clause in their treaty of 1234 with the Byzantines. They gave it the name of their patron saint. Bourbon and Bosio both say it was small, and so it is. When the Knights came it belonged to the Greeks, but later it was granted

FIG. 156. The Door of St. Mark's Church.

to the Franciscans by Grand Master de Milly. This was on June 12, 1437. He made over to them at the same time another church, that of St. Bernardin, with all its accessories of revenue, orchards and saffron-planted closes, on condition that they founded and annexed a friary to it. As we have said, St. Mark's is now a Turkish bath. The interior is much cut up and built in, so that we were not able to take its measurements, but it resembles St. Sebastian's in size, and consists merely of a nave. The bather's feet tread upon tombstones, many with worn-out inscriptions, but one happily a little better preserved than the rest, which gives us most interesting information. This is the burial-place of one of the Catholic bishops of Rhodes, Bernard of Cos, a member of this very same congregation of Franciscans, who was transferred to Rhodes in 1324. Some faint lines on the large flagstone are all that remain of the bishop's figure. A small portion of the

inscription is also erased, but enough is left to make it quite clear to whom it belongs (Fig. 157).

It was in St. Mark's that the eikon of Our Lady of Phileremos was deposited when it was brought from the mountain to the town in time of danger. During the last siege, several persons who were praying there having been killed by a cannon-shot, it was removed for safety to St. Catherine's Chapel in the Grand Master's Palace, where it remained till carried to Cyprus and subsequently to Malta. Picenardi's assertion that it was taken to St. Catherine's Church in the Burgh is improbable, as the latter was nearer the walls of Italy and more exposed than St. Mark's.

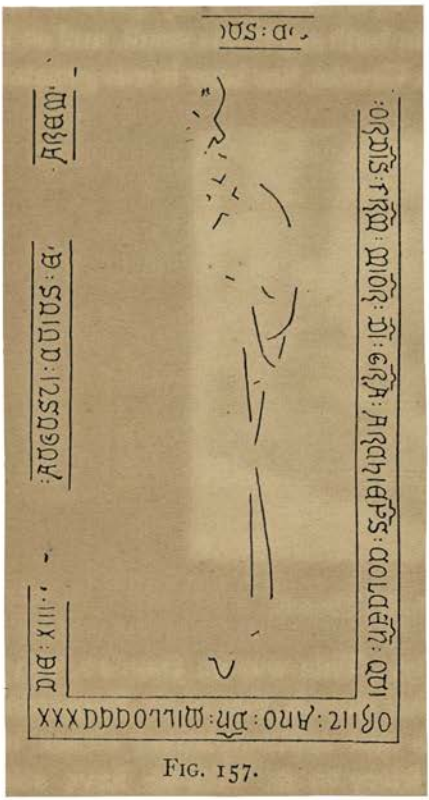

Fig. 157.

We see on the Admiralty map of Rhodes, the only detailed one which exists, that the Reijab Pacha Mosque is called the Iron Mosque, an ancient convent of the Augustinians. This is absolutely wrong. The Reijab Pacha Mosque was erected sixty-one years after the departure of the Knights by a Turkish governor of that name. The Iron Mosque, or Demerlee Djaanee, so called from the massive iron grating that protects its windows, which open low down on the street, is in another part of the town, not far from the Ibrahim Pacha Mosque and the Bazaar. What was the original name of this mosque when a church is still a matter of conjecture. Picenardi and others call it St. Augustine's, and speak of a monastery being attached to it. This is possible, although we could not find any trace of a religious house, unless it might be the modernized building in the courtyard on the right of the mosque where some religious students or *softas* reside. In this courtyard, by the way, is an ancient Greek urn, bearing a short inscription (Fig. 158).

If this building was St. Augustine's it must have been one of the largest churches in Rhodes. It is very solidly built, and has a nave and two aisles which form a square, each side of which measures 70 feet. The nave terminates at the east end in a semicircular apse. In the centre of the church are four large square columns connected by four low Gothic

arches which support a cupola with a dome rising in height 40 feet above the pavement and lit by five Gothic windows. Over these runs a semi-circular hood-moulding, which is carried about half-way down the height of the windows, where it terminates in a kind of elongated trefoil. Outside the church a Gothic groined porch of four arches with a boss is built over the street, and gives character to the building. In St. Augustine's (?) was the family vault of the Cybos. One Aramo Cybo, born in Rhodes, was the father of John Baptist Cybo, born in Genoa, who became Pope Innocent VIII in 1484. When William Caoursin went to Rome in 1485 as ambassador of the Order to compliment him on his elevation to the Holy See, he was the bearer of a letter from Nicholas of Rhodes, Provincial of the Augustinians, reminding the Pope that their church in Rhodes had the honour of possessing the tomb of his ancestors, and asking permission to repair it.

We next have to find the Metropolitan cathedral of the Greeks. The only suitable building we could discover is a fairly large Byzantine church

FIG. 158.

FIG. 159.

situated in a narrow street close to the Turkish guard-house in the Main Bazaar street. It is now abandoned and, as our map shows, bears no name. Its architecture is undoubtedly Byzantine. It has a nave and two aisles, measuring in all 50 feet by 40. The ceiling is vaulted, and supported by six square columns. The interior has been filled with a mass of rubbish which prevents one from forming an accurate notion of its height; but this could not be less than 25 feet. The back of this church, which faces three streets, is decorated with a graceful Byzantine cornice, supporting two brackets or corbels on which are Greek crosses (Fig. 159).

If this is not the Metropolitan church of the Greeks, then it could only have been what are now the Turkish baths, close to Sultan Mustapha's mosque. This is marked 'Benedictine Monastery' on the Admiralty map, and Picenardi believes it to be the Church of St. Bernardin, which, as we have seen, was granted to the Franciscans by Grand Master de Milly with its orchards and gardens. The objections we find to this building being St. Bernardin's are firstly its appearance, about which, unlike all the other

churches of the Knights, there is nothing Gothic; secondly, that it stands embedded among houses undoubtedly of the same period; and thirdly, that there are, and have been, no gardens near it. Therefore we should rather fancy it to have been the Greek cathedral. These baths are large. The main hall measures about 80 feet by 50, and has a low dome, the top of which rises 40 feet from the pavement of the church. There are no ornaments of any kind inside. Biliotti mentions a flagstone inscribed with the name of a Sister of the Order who died on the 9th of March, 1393, in an infirmary or hospital (Xenodochio) which he does not identify. This stone, which on a hurried visit there we failed to find, was probably brought from another building close by—in all likelihood from the 'Kadee Medgidee', which appears to have been a public institution of some kind, with a chapel attached.

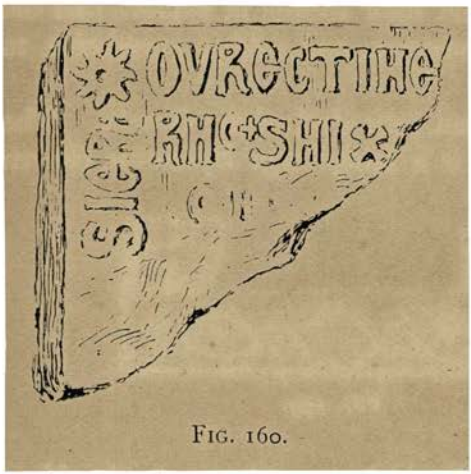

FIG. 160.

As to St. Bernardin's, we are almost certain that it was none other than the present mosque called Tchookoor Medjeed, not very far from the Athanasios Gate. We were much surprised to find this to be a fairly large church that had originally a nave and two aisles, one of which has been pulled down. The remaining aisle, about 50 feet by 15, is separated from the nave by square piers and arches. The roof is vaulted and is 20 feet high. There are traces of frescoes on the outside wall, once the north wall of the destroyed south aisle. The body of the church was also no doubt decorated with frescoes, but these are covered with a thick coat of whitewash. The vestibule of this church is, however, striking. It is a square room about 15 feet each way. The ceiling is groined, the four arches meeting in a flowered boss and resting on slender columns with Byzantine capitals. Three doors open into this vestibule. The door opening on to the street is ornamented outside and inside with mouldings and string-courses, and has above it a kind of niche in which was once an inscription or a basso-relievo. The second door opens into the church, and the third into the grounds. The last is ornamented in the same way as the door into the street, and has, moreover, on either side two narrow Gothic windows. In the grounds are remains of a large vaulted hall with many cells, probably once inhabited by the Franciscan Friars. There is also a back entrance to this monastery, with an

elaborate door and niche above it. Attached to it is a vast space which, since the days of the Knights, has always been occupied by gardens, if we can judge from the appearance of all the houses opening into them. These gardens were no doubt the same that grew the saffron mentioned in Milly's grant to the Franciscans. In the courtyard of this monastery we sketched a broken marble slab, on which is part of a Byzantine inscription (Fig. 160).

Bosio speaks of a Greek chapel dedicated to the Holy Saviour, near the walls of Auvergne. We think that the building called Koormalee Medressee,

FIG. 161. Holy Saviour's Church.

or the date-palm church, close to St. George's Gate, is that to which he refers. With its tiled dome it is certainly very Greek in appearance; besides, there are no other chapels nearer to these walls (Figs. 161, 162). Inside the courtyard belonging to it can be seen the remains of a porch and of extensive buildings, ruins of some monastery, together with an old sundial. The chapel itself is very small, being only 25 feet square. It is now inhabited by paupers. Picenardi, quoting Bosio, says that the Mandria or barricade built inside the walls of Aragon during the last siege extended as far as the chapel of the Holy Saviour. In this case our chapel is too far away, but Bosio is wrongly

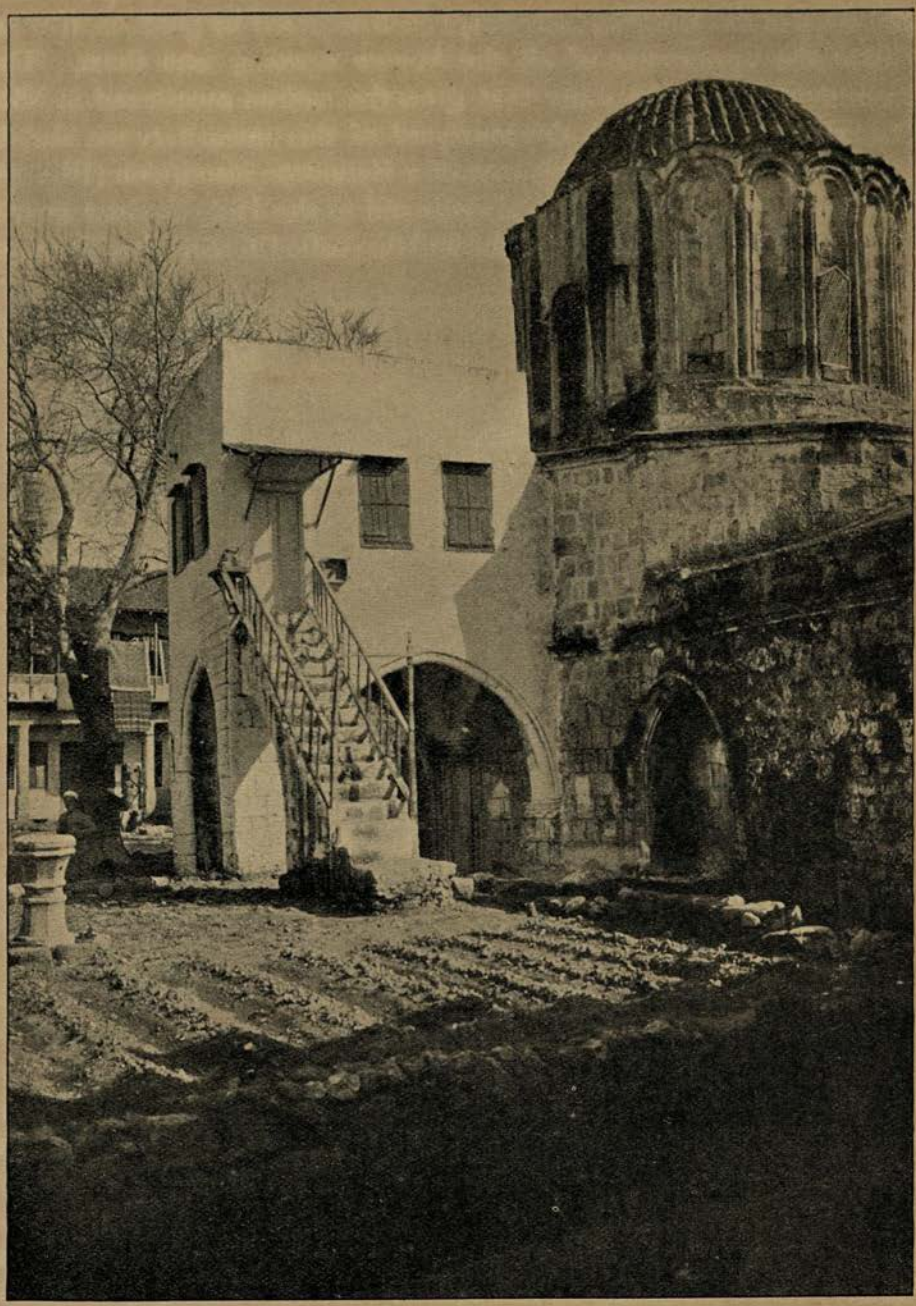

FIG. 162. Another view of the Holy Saviour's Church

quoted, as he only explains that this chapel is close to the wall of Auvergne where the barricade ended.

Close to Sultan Suleiman's mosque is another church, built in the form of a Latin cross and measuring 45 feet, by 40 across the arms. The roofs are vaulted, and over the centre is a cupola 40 feet in height from the pavement of the church. The Turks call it Kadee Medjeedee, or the small church. We do not know to whom it belonged at the time of the Knights, perhaps to the Sisters of Saint John. It stands in a small courtyard, and over the Gothic doorway that fronts the street is a niche, formerly filled with an inscription or a basso-relievo. On either side are stone rings for standards. At the back of this church, now inhabited by poor Cretan women, are ruins of buildings, perhaps those of a nunnery or an infirmary (Fig. 163).

FIG. 163. Porch of an unknown Church, now the Kadee Medjeedee Mosque.

In the Jewish quarter, not far from Saint John's Gate, is another small church, now converted into the Doolaplee Medjeed, or mosque. We have no idea to what order it belonged, if to any. It is a very compact building, in a fairly good state of preservation. A poor woman is allowed to live there out of charity. She showed us through. The church is cruciform

with a semicircular east end; but there is a peculiarity in the arrangement. At the end of the north transept is a groined vestibule of eight arches. In this are the entrance and three Gothic windows. The church, less this vestibule, measures 50 feet by 50. The roof is vaulted and, like the walls, shows traces of frescoes. This church may have been the property of the Benedictine monks, the position of whose church we have not yet been able to determine.

In the Turkish quarter, between the Sultan Mustapha and Reijab Pacha Mosques, are the ruins of two very small chapels, of which nothing is known. Between the Reijab Pacha Mosque and the wall of Provence a small mosque called Yaarem Minaret is also part of an ancient chapel.

We have mentioned in another chapter the small chapel at the Gate of St. Athanasios with its outside steps and platform. We also found a tiny vaulted chapel in a small garden between St. George's Gate and the ditch of Amboise Gate. It looks Byzantine and is of minor interest.

We shall end our list of the religious buildings with the Byzantine chapel close to the Reijab Pacha Mosque. This is worth inspection, although the door has been partly walled up, and the garbage thrown through it into the chapel from the neighbouring houses is rather offensive to sensitive nostrils. Two massive Byzantine columns which formerly adorned its portico are lying in the mud outside. The building consists merely of a nave with a vaulted roof. The walls and the ceiling are covered with frescoes, much defaced by damp, but in places still quite visible. Here and there are some Byzantine inscriptions, but it is almost impossible to read them. The letters ΜΗ and ϹΖΛ were all we could make out in some of the sentences.

The Jews, of course, had at all times a synagogue in their quarter. This synagogue was destroyed by cannon-shot during the siege of 1480. Rebuilt soon after, it was abandoned in 1502, when d'Aubusson decided to expel from Rhodes all Jews that would not be converted to Christianity. It is used now by the present generation of Jews. The Rhodian Jews of to-day, who are descendants of those who inhabited the city in the time of the Knights, still speak Spanish.

XVII

OUTSIDE THE WALLS—CHURCHES, CHAPELS, AND OTHER REMAINS

THERE were also several churches outside the walls, of which only one, St. John of the Fountain, described in another chapter, remains to this day.

The others were St. Stephen's, on the hill of that name close to the town, an old Byzantine chapel, restored by the Knights. The ruins of it were used as building material by the Franciscans about sixty years ago for their modern church of Our Lady of the Victory in the European quarter. We might mention here that St. Stephen's hill is also called Mount Smith after Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who, during Napoleon's Egyptian campaign, commanded a British squadron in these waters. The admiral lived for some time in a house still standing on the top of the hill, from which he kept watch for the French fleet.

Of the churches of St. George in the suburb of that name, SS. Cosmas and Damian, and St. Mary Elemonitre, the two latter not far from the walls of England and Aragon, nothing remains. Nor is there any trace of a church of the Visitation, of that of St. Michael the Archangel, or of another St. Michael's which is mentioned by Bosio as being on the Boulevard.

The small underground Greek chapel in the European quarter, close to the Greek cemetery, is evidently of Byzantine origin, unless it be one of the last-named chapels renovated by the mediaeval Greeks.

In the space between the European quarter and the foot of St. Stephen's Mount stands a small chapel, lately restored, and now a dependency of the Greek Church. We saw on its western wall a marble slab which has now been removed. It was carved with the shield of Jerome de Canel, who was, according to Piçenardi, a castellan of the Order in 1410, and was inscribed with his motto, as was a similar slab we found in the Collachium.

A few yards off is the old Armenian cemetery, in which, amongst a number of tombstones, two seem to belong to men who were connected with the Order, as we see its cross upon them. A third tombstone is a marble slab carved with a shield bearing *a lion rampant sinister debruised*

with a barrulet enhanced on a field semy of estoiles, identical with the one which we found over the entrance to the chapel of England on the ramparts of Castile. This, of course, may have been brought from the town to serve here as a tombstone (Fig. 164).

St. Anthony's oratory we know to have been on the shore, not far from St. Nicholas's Tower; some say on the site of the actual Turkish mosque called Moorad Reis. The only relic we could find of it was a white marble window-transom, about five feet long, carved with *fleurs-de-lys* in relief. It was in the grounds of this church that the Knights, the Europeans and the pilgrims who died in Rhodes were buried. St. Anthony's was pulled down by the Turks in the early part of the siege of 1480, to make room for a battery; but in 1481 it was rebuilt and enlarged by Grand Master d'Aubusson.

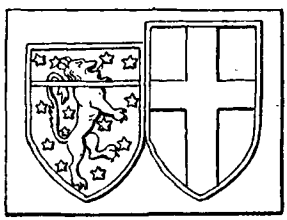

FIG. 164.

Bones were dug up a few years ago in the old Knights' cemetery, now a field enclosed by high walls; and, says Picenardi, they would have become the prey of dogs if a foreign official had not had them interred. They must be strange and hungry dogs that take a fancy to human bones nearly four hundred years old.

Before leaving the churches we must describe a stone which forms the principal ornament in the altar screen of the modern church of Our Lady of the Victory in the European quarter. This stone, which bears in relief the image of the Virgin and the Child, and a large shield of the Chantemerle family, is contemporary with the Knights, and in all probability comes from some private chapel (Fig. 165).

The Greek inscription one reads on it tells us that in 1693 a Catholic slave named Simon was working amongst some ruins in the Jewish quarter when he heard his name called, and at that moment he discovered the said stone, which he carried away with him to the bagnio where he lived with other slaves, and standing it in a corner of the living room lit a lamp in front of it according to the Greek fashion. But the Greek bishop, hearing of this, claimed the stone, which, however, Ali Pacha Ogloo, the master of the slave, allowed Simon to keep. Later it was placed in the earliest Latin church at the foot of St. Stephen's Mount, and in 1743 was removed by the Franciscans to its present position, where it is the object of great veneration even amongst the Greeks, who call it *Phanaromenee*, or the Recovered. Several miracles are ascribed to it, and it is invoked in time of earthquake, plague or fever.

The exact site of the arsenal of the Knights is not known. It may have been in the Gardens of Auvergne, or outside the walls on the shore of the smaller harbour, near St. Paul's Gate. Picenardi places it where the old Turkish Government building or Konak stands now. A wall ran thence to St. Peter's Tower, as we have seen. Part of this wall still exists, and at the harbour end a shield of d'Aubusson is embedded in it. Although this

FIG. 165. The Chantemerle Virgin and Child.

opinion of Picenardi is not substantiated by any fact or any extract from writers contemporary with the Knights, none of whom, strange to say, has mentioned the arsenal, it is not unlikely that it was really there, close to the galley-harbour and protected by the guns of St. Nicholas.

We know that the upkeep of the Dockyards cost 2,000 ducats a year, and it was there that the galleys of the Knights were built. Their fleet in later years consisted of three large galleys, besides the great ship of

Rhodes, twice the size of any merchantman of its times and the first 'protected' ship; also of three smaller galleys, the whole being maintained at the cost of 43,000 ducats. This protected vessel was sheathed with lead.

In the courtyard of the old Konak, of which we have just spoken, one can see a number of interesting relics of the Knights in the form of marble

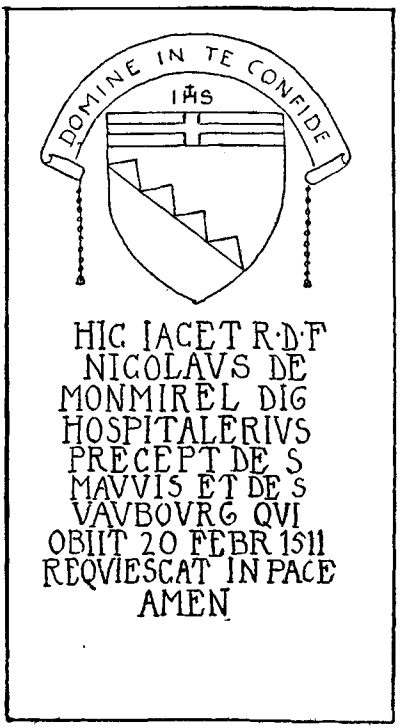

Fig. 166.

Fig 167.

mouldings, slabs, and coats of arms with inscriptions. These, no doubt, come from St. Anthony's oratory and cemetery, which are not far off. One of the slabs is worth notice, as it shows a bearded knight, nearly of life size, in full armour. His face, however, is battered in, and a shield he holds is so worn that there is no trace of bearings to give a clue to its owner. It is, however, no doubt, the effigy of some great dignitary of the Order, perhaps even of a Grand Master. Another large slab, of which we give a sketch, bears the shield of Montmirel with a bend per bend indented and a chief of the Order (Fig. 166).

This Montmirel, Bosio tells us, was Treasurer-General of the Order about 1500. He belonged to the Tongue of France and entered the Order in 1470.

On a third large marble slab we see the shield of Heredia with the seven castles, and we read an inscription which, like the last one, has been wrongly copied by Picenardi (Fig. 167).

This Heredia, of the same family as the Grand Master, was Pillar of

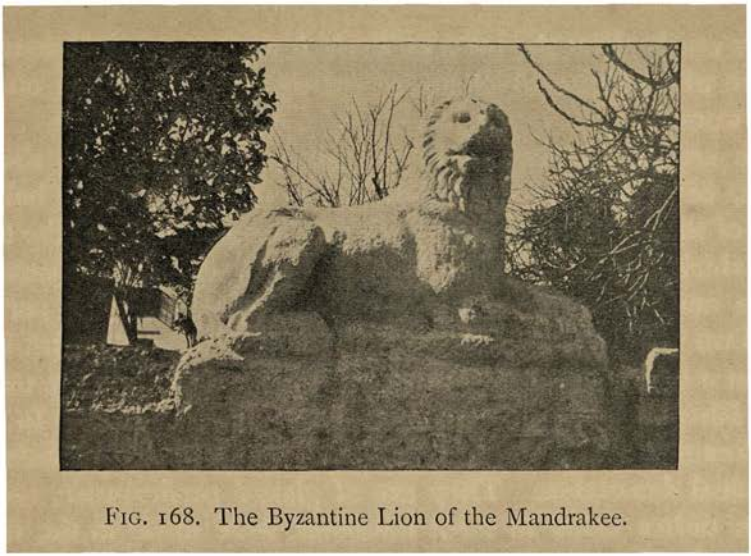

FIG. 168. The Byzantine Lion of the Mandrakee.

the Tongue of Aragon, but can hardly have remained in office for two years after his own death, although Picenardi's date would lead to that supposition.

Here also, but fixed against the outer wall below a common water-tap, is the marble sarcophagus which once contained the remains of Grand Master Corneillan. The side containing the inscription, which we read in 1900 but omitted to note, is now turned to the wall.

On the top of a low wall close by is a large marble lion, probably Byzantine, which may be one of a pair that decorated some dorway on the steps of one of the buildings of the Knights (Fig. 168).

We read of a gun-foundry maintained by the Order at a cost of 1,000 ducats a year, but its whereabouts is unknown.

XVIII

THE TURKISH MOSQUES

A FEW words about the present Turkish mosques may be found interesting, and we will indicate which are of ancient origin and were once Catholic places of worship.

There are in Rhodes sixteen mosques, all of which are shown on our map. One of these, that of Reijab Pacha, although it was built after the departure of the Knights, is well worth a visit on account of the fine Lindos tiles with which it is decorated. There are six large panels formed of these tiles inside, and two on the façade, each tile contributing a portion of the design. Two of the inside sets are painted with large Turkish inscriptions in white on a dark-blue ground strewn with flowers. All the others are of the usual Rhodian pattern of palm leaves and carnations. In the bright Eastern climate these tiles with their rich colours and sharply defined designs form an ideal decoration. They are of glazed earthenware, and, like the well-known dishes found in most museums, were made in the days of the Knights by Persian potters, who were taken prisoners on some captured Turkish vessel and established at Lindos. They are very similar to Damascus ware, but are of more vivid colouring. The Imams of the mosque are exceedingly proud of their tiles, which they know to be very valuable. The outside sets were once stolen by a mason when repairing the wall, but this theft caused such a commotion amongst the Turks that the mason, being in fear for his life, thought it better to return them. The Reijab Pacha Mosque is the largest and oldest in Rhodes. It was built in 1584 by a Governor of that name, and it is noteworthy that the architect imitated the style of the later buildings of the Knights, not omitting the rope-ornament which has caused many to believe it older than it is. This mosque is 50 feet square, and the cupola rises over 80 feet from the ground. Behind it is a small kiosk, in which Reijab Pacha's tomb is to be seen. In the square in front is the usual fountain which one finds attached to all mosques, and near it are wonderful plane-trees, contemporaries of the Pacha himself, and probably even of the Knights (Fig. 169).

We have seen that when the Knights left, all their churches and

chapels were converted into mosques. The entrance to these was from that date rigorously forbidden to Europeans. In 1824 a French abbé named Desmazures, who was interested in the history of the Order, nearly lost his life in attempting to enter one of them. Rottiers had the greatest difficulty in obtaining a peep at St. John's. Thanks to the courtesy of the present Kadi of Rhodes, we were given every facility to make a detailed inspection of them all.

The other mosques are the Demerlee Djaanee or Iron Mosque, perhaps St. Augustine's Church, the Yamee Djeelee, ancient St. Sebastian's, the

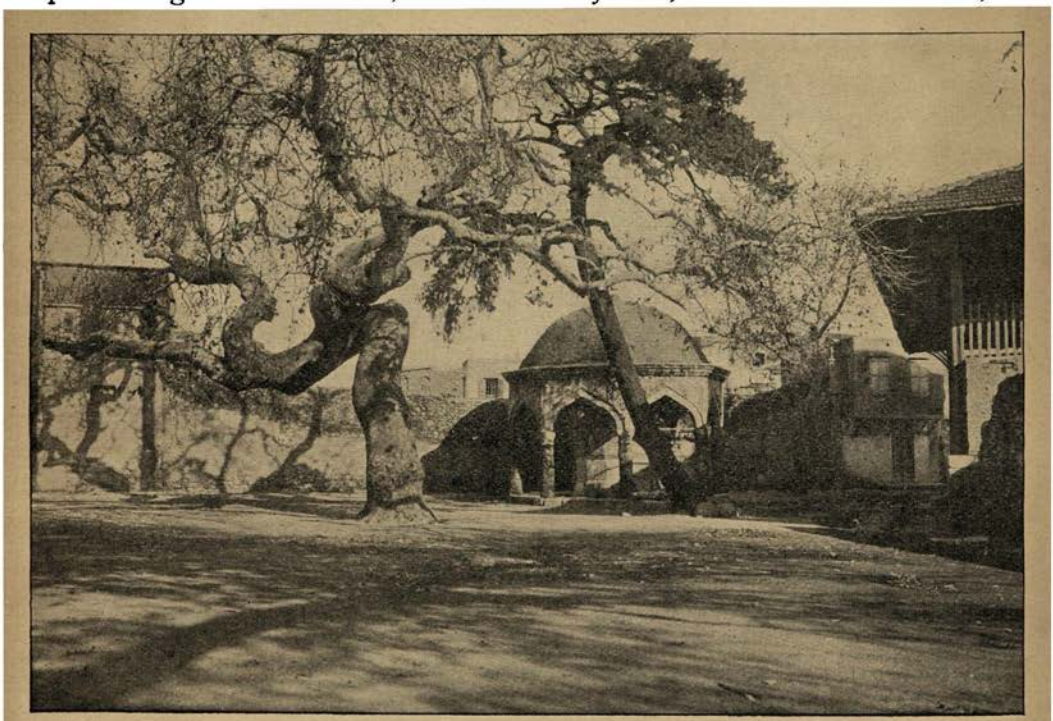

FIG. 169. In Reijab Pacha's Square.

Gandoohooree (formerly the Church of the Holy Virgin), Koormalee Medressee, that of the Holy Saviour, Kadee Medgeedee, Doolaplee Medgid, Tchookoor Medgid, and Yarem Minaret—all ancient churches and chapels. Other mosques are those of Ibrahim Pacha, Sultan Mustapha, Hamsat Sookhar, Tchaoodran, Boorazandjee Ali Baba, and Ahah Djaanee, all more or less modern; and lastly the Mosque of Sultan Suleiman, erected about a hundred years ago (1224, Turkish era), which is close to where St. John's Church stood. It is a very plain building, but noteworthy for its

exquisite portico of carved marble, evidently of Florentine workmanship (Fig. 170). The columns are finely carved with military emblems and with

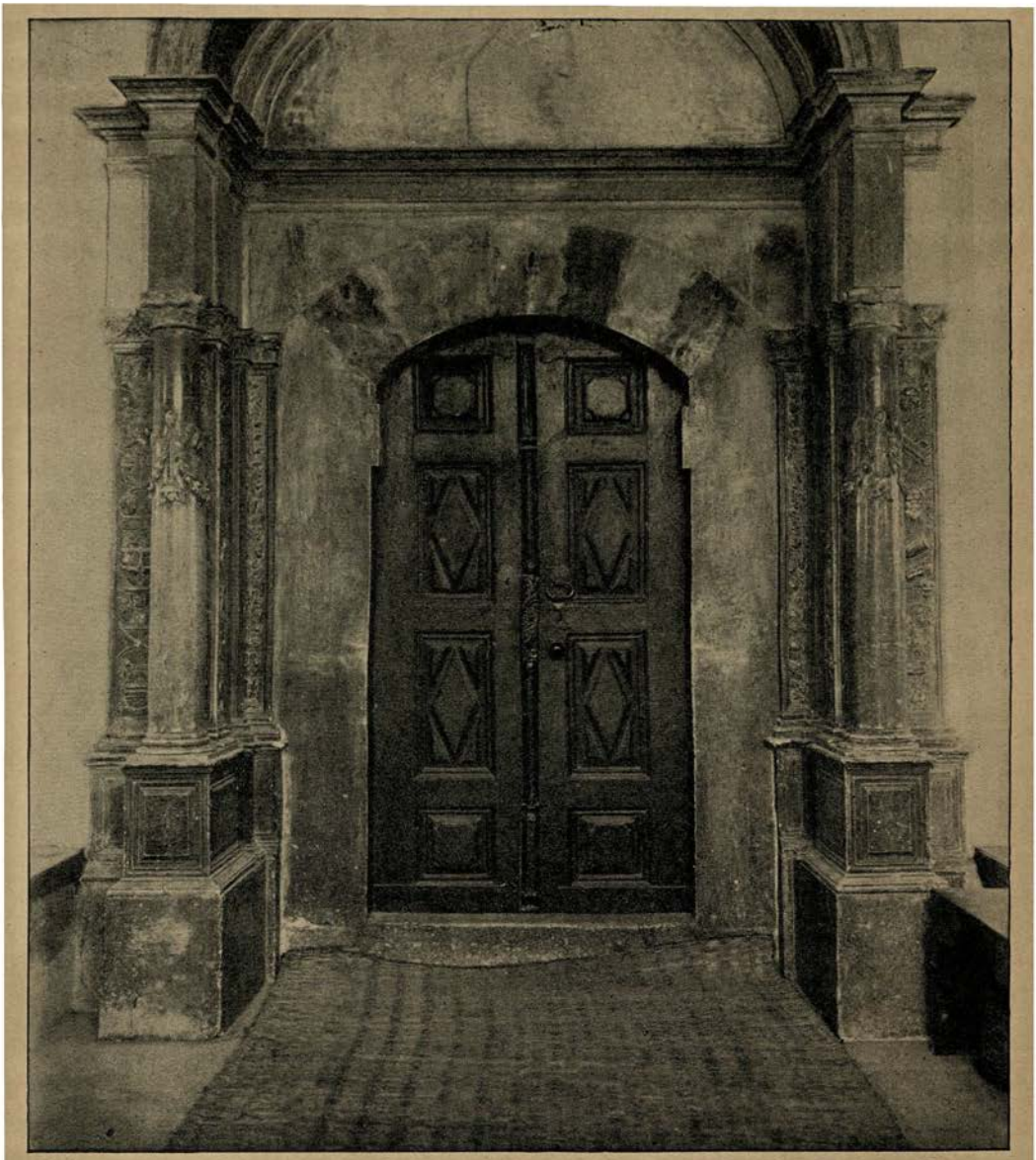

FIG. 170. The Portico of Sultan Suleiman's Mosque.

the cross of the Order on shields and banners. Where this fine portico came from is a matter of conjecture. It must have been taken from one of the old churches. There is a tradition among the people that an ancient

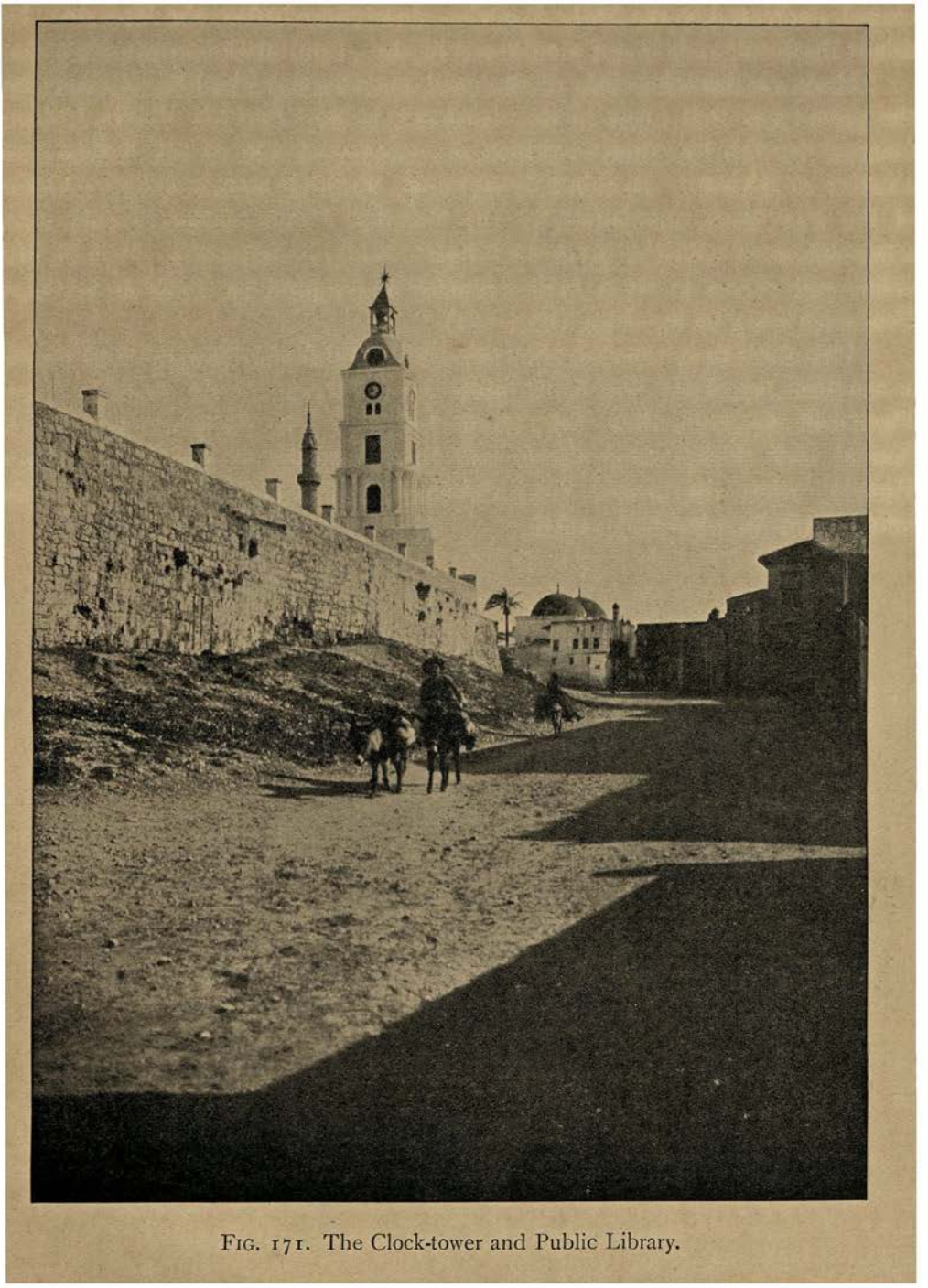

FIG. 171. The Clock-tower and Public Library.

chapel, dedicated to the Holy Apostles, stood there before the Mosque. But this is doubtful, as it is not mentioned in any of the works on the Knights.

Here, on the other side of the road, and distinguished by its dome and the palm-trees that grow in its courtyard, is the Turkish Public Library, founded in 1782 by Ahmed Ahfooz, a secretary of one of the Sultans and a native of Rhodes. In this Library is the Turkish manuscript of a history of the last siege, presented by the founder. The author of this work, a translation of which is given in Biliotti's book, is unknown. It is of little value, and seems to be a mere translation, adapted to Turkish tastes, of Bourbon's story of the siege (Fig. 171).

The clock-tower on the other side of the Suleiman Mosque is, of course, a modern structure, but it is built on the base of an ancient tower. Picenardi suggests that the older belfry of St. John, mentioned by Sanuto and Bosio, stood there, and that close by it was the Cross of Padella, where the Grand Prior d'Amaral was beheaded. We give this information for what it is worth.

XIX

THE OUTLYING CASTLES OF THE KNIGHTS

THE island was, in the time of the Knights, divided into a number of districts or Castellanias. Incursions by Turkish pirates were frequent in those days, and protection had to be given to the rural population of Rhodes. An order entered in 1474 in the Register of the Council, now in the archives of Malta, gives a list of fortified castles to which in time of danger the peasants of the adjacent villages were to repair with their goods. These castles, connected by a chain of watch-towers, stood at intervals along the Rhodian coast. Some have disappeared, but ruins of several of the largest remain, standing as a testimony of prosperous times in spots now sterile and deserted.

As we have said, the guard of the coast was entrusted to the Turcopolier, or Pillar of the Tongue of England, commander of the cavalry of the Knights. The coastguard and garrisons were recruited from among the Rhodian Greeks and formed an excellent corps. Each castle was garrisoned according to its importance. These posts were sometimes visited by the Grand Masters. In 1477 d'Aubusson was away for forty days on a tour of inspection. He examined them all and ordered certain repairs to be made and a number of additional watch-towers to be built.

The castles were seventeen in number. Starting along the east coast from the town of Rhodes, and making a circuit of the island, they were those of Koskeenoo, Archangelos, Pheraclos, Lindos, Lacania, Catavia, Polakia, Monolithos, Asclepios, Siana, Polona, Castellos, Salakhos, Fanes, Villanova, Cremasto and Phileremos. All these were perched like eagles' nests on high rocks or inaccessible mountains. A few walls and heaps of ruins are all that remain of most of them. Of these Lindos, Pheraclos, Monolithos, Castellos, and Phileremos were more substantial and important than the rest.

Most imposing and strongest of them all was Lindos. It dominates the city of that name, now a Greek village, but once a seaport of some importance. It stands impregnable on the top of a huge rock 600 feet high, the foot of which is washed by the waves. Where the castle is now

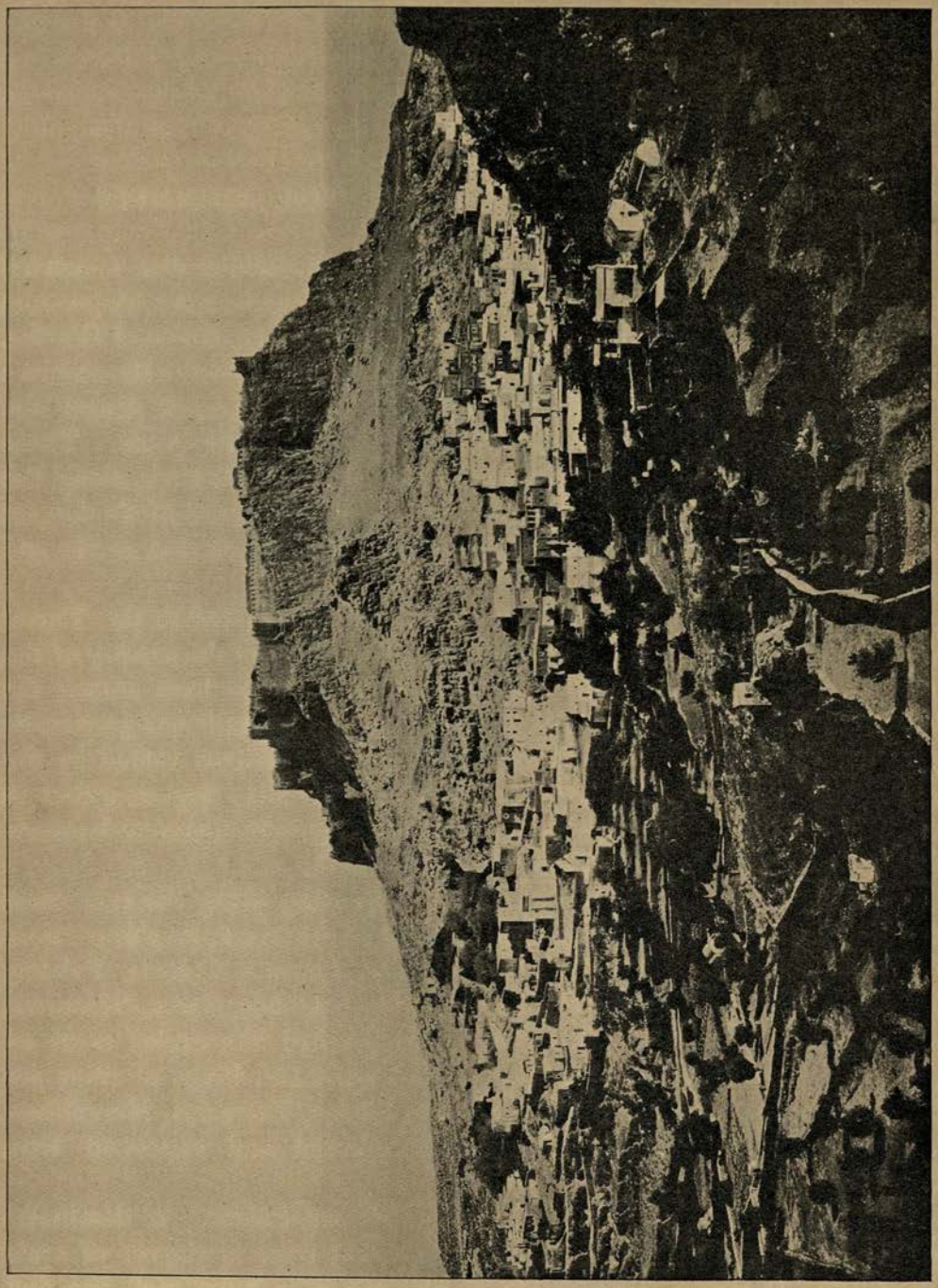

Fig. 172. Lindos and its Castle.

the ancient Greeks had their Acropolis and a vast temple to Athene. The ruins of the temple were first used by the Byzantines, who built a fort and church on the same spot, and later by the Knights for their castle. A Danish Mission was busily engaged in 1905 in clearing the ruins and spoiling what remains of the castle in the endeavour to restore the temple of Athene Lyndia and a more modern Greek temple (Fig. 172).

The castle of Lindos was more than a mere outpost; it was a small fortress, and covers an area of 300 square feet. Its shape is irregular, but roughly triangular. Many yards of embattled walls and numerous towers

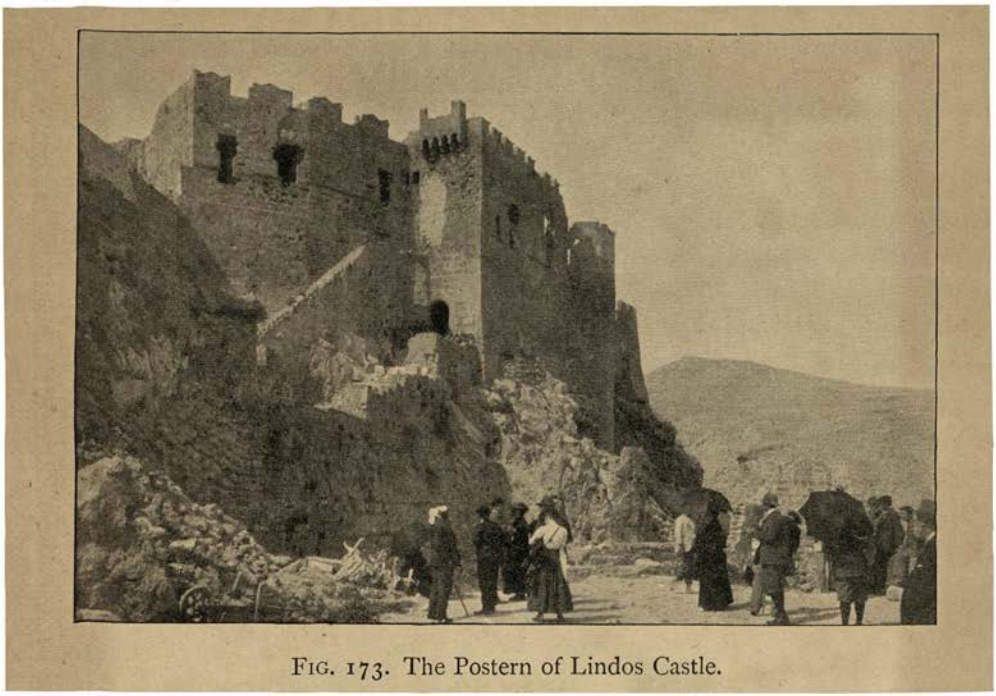

FIG. 173. The Postern of Lindos Castle.

are still standing. The castle was approached only from the north front overlooking the harbour, and had a double line of defence. It is still a formidable and magnificent sight, especially when struck by the golden rays of a rising sun. One expects from the external appearance to find the inside in a fair state of preservation, but on passing through the old postern, protected by a machicoulis, one sees nothing but ruins of vaulted chambers, amongst which it is most difficult to form an idea of the interior disposition of the defences (Fig. 173). There is, however, a vast hall on the first story, the flooring of which has collapsed. The walls of this hall are still decorated with arabesques and other designs in distemper, and with a number of painted shields along the frieze, among which are those of the Order and

the Grand Masters de Lastic, de Milly and d'Aubusson. The last named, when he inspected the castle in 1479, ordered extensive repairs to be carried out, and his shield in marble, side by side with that of the Order, adorns the outside wall in two places. Large cisterns which supplied the garrison with water still remain in a fair state of preservation (Fig. 174).

The fortress of Lindos, when a Byzantine possession, was besieged by the Genoese in 1248. In 1310 it surrendered to the Knights. Grand Master de Villaret took refuge there in 1317, when his overbearing conduct

Fig. 174. Inside Lindos Castle.

caused the Knights to depose him. While there he appealed to the Pope against the decision of the Council of the Order. After the fall of Rhodes on the 30th of December, 1522, the fortress surrendered to the Turks at the same time as the castles of Pheraclos and Monolithos. Its garrison had been strengthened during the siege, twelve Knights with twenty-two men having been sent there on the 13th of November.

In the village of Lindos, which now counts barely six hundred inhabitants as against nearly three thousand in the time of the Knights, is to be seen an old Greek church known in the days of the Order as the Madonna

of Lindos. The interior is decorated throughout with frescoes in the Byzantine manner. They are poor in design and their age seems their only merit. This church was endowed by d'Aubusson. One finds here also several houses, contemporary with the Knights, but decorated with Byzantine crosses, rose ornaments, and the torse, evidently during the Turkish régime, as some are inscribed with the seventeenth-century dates (Fig. 175).

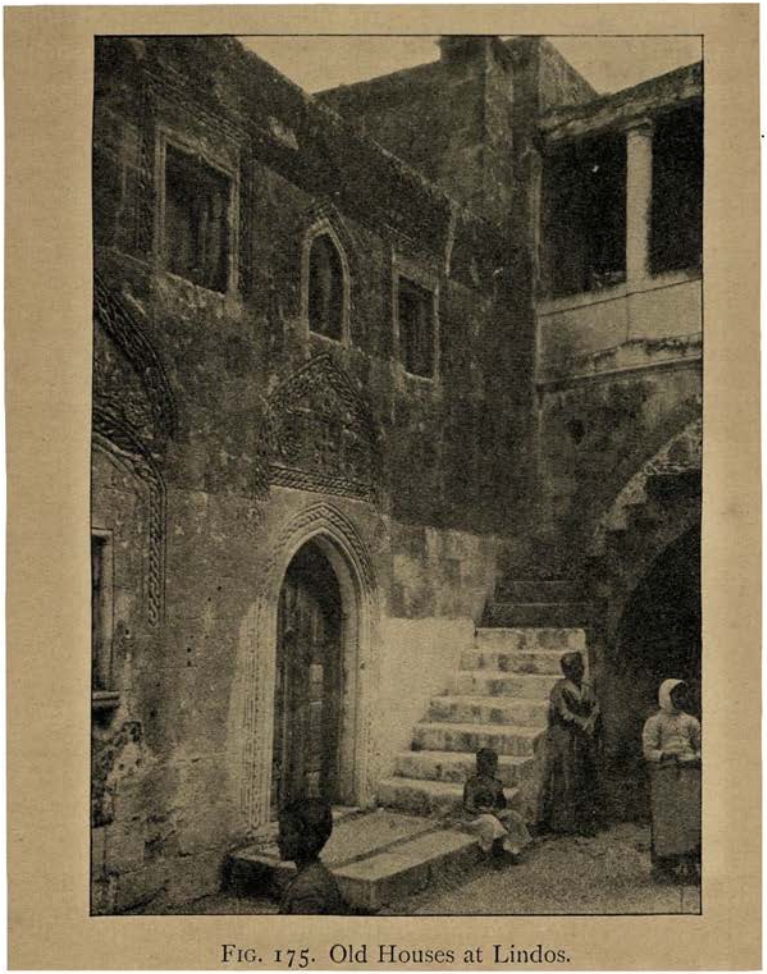

FIG. 175. Old Houses at Lindos.

Lindos was famous at all times for its sailors, who had a reputation for enterprise. Many were the Lyndians amongst the crews of the Knights' galleys, and the best sailing-boats in the Turkish and Greek islands were built there. It was also in, or near, Lindos that the famous Rhodian pottery was made, specimens of which are seen in museums all over the world. Fine and peculiar embroidery was worked there. This has become

extremely rare, and what is made there now is only a very poor imitation of the old work. In case of danger, the castle of Lindos gave protection to the neighbouring villages of Calathos, Pilona, Lardos, Asclepios and Yannathi.

Of the castle of Pheraclos on the east coast, which, like Lindos, stands on a steep promontory, little remains. Stone steps lead up to the gate of

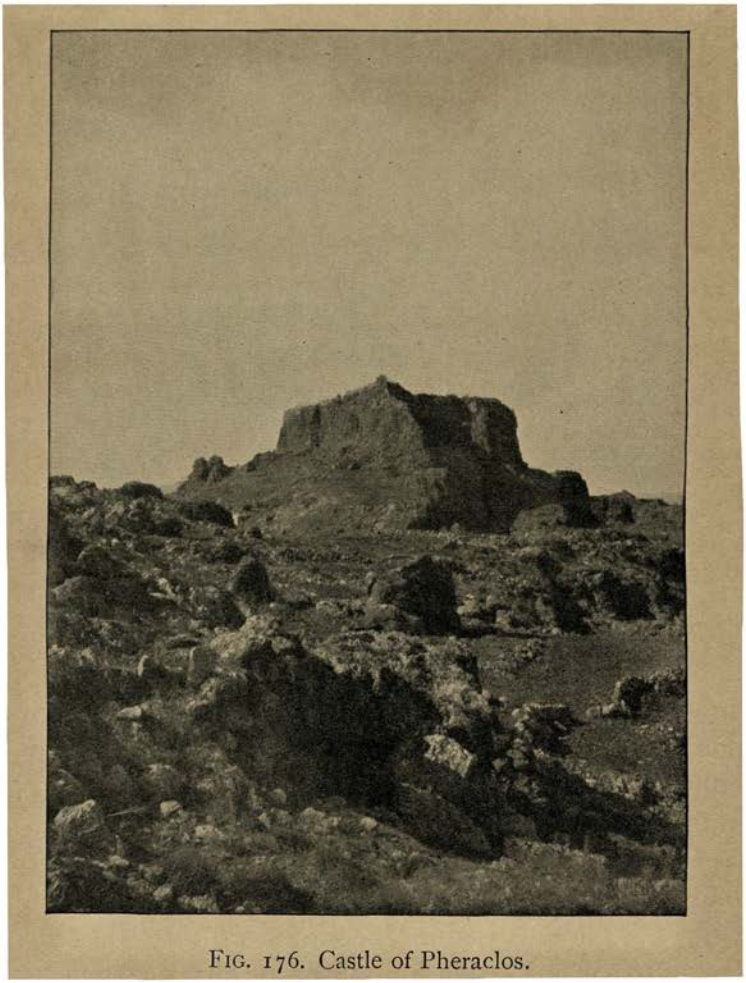

FIG. 176. Castle of Pheraclos.

the fortress, the walls of which are eight feet thick but have mostly fallen down. Of its six flanking towers only the bases remain. Within the walls are a large cistern and part of the chapel. The castle was strong, if we may judge from what is left. The Byzantines also had a fortress there. The view from this point is very fine (Fig. 176).

It was at Pheraclos that the Knights of St. John, led by de Villaret, first landed in Rhodes. The castle was taken by them on the 30th of September,

1306, after three days' fighting. In 1383 Pheraclos was used as a prison for unruly Knights. In 1457 it was stormed by Turkish pirates. Thirteen years later Grand Master Orsini, having heard that the Turks were again contemplating a landing on this side of the Island, prevailed on the Council of the Order to decide on rebuilding it, and it became one of the strongest castles in Rhodes. It protected the villages of Salia, Nanodoto, Malona, Catagro, and Caminari. Orsini was very fond of Pheraclos as a summer residence. He assigned it to the sons of Prince Djem, of whom we have spoken. The chapter of the Order decreed in 1504 that Grand Master d'Amboise was to have the custody of Amurat, one of these sons, who lived in the castle of Pheraclos in great style with numerous attendants and the Knight John Raffino as equerry. He remained there till the surrender of Rhodes in 1522, when Sultan Suleiman, having insisted on the sons of Djem being given up, had him strangled together with two of his children. Perrino del Ponte, who became Grand Master in Malta in 1534, was appointed Castellan of Pheraclos on the 13th of July, 1514. The French Knight Du Puy was the last Governor. It was through a message that he sent by boat to Grand Master l'Isle Adam during the siege of 1522 that we know of the mine which the Turks were digging under the walls of Germany, with the intention of pushing it as far as St. John's Church. The knowledge of this he had gathered from prisoners made by his men. The news created great excitement in the town, and several high dignitaries of the Order were at the same time suspected of treachery in connexion with it.

Monolithos, on the west coast, is another castle of the Knights, perched on an enormous rock. In size it is comparatively small, but the approach to it is very difficult. The remains of this castle are extremely picturesque. Within the walls all is ruin and confusion. A vaulted room seems to have been the chapel. On the east side, over the entrance-gate, are two shields, one of d'Aubusson, ensigned with the Cardinal's hat, and the other of the Order (Fig. 177). The castle of Monolithos protects the village of that name and that of Apollakia. During the siege of 1522 four artillery men of the Order landed at Monolithos, crossed the island to the castle of Lindos, and getting into a small boat with twenty soldiers of this castle reached Rhodes safely on the night of the 14th of October to help in the defence. On the 27th of November the Governor of Monolithos with four Knights and ten followers also got to the town.

The castle of Castellos was the principal fortress on the east coast. We can only judge of its importance by its stately ruins, as, strange to say,

none of the historians of the Order mentions its existence. Castellos is now the name of a Greek village close by, which no doubt received that name

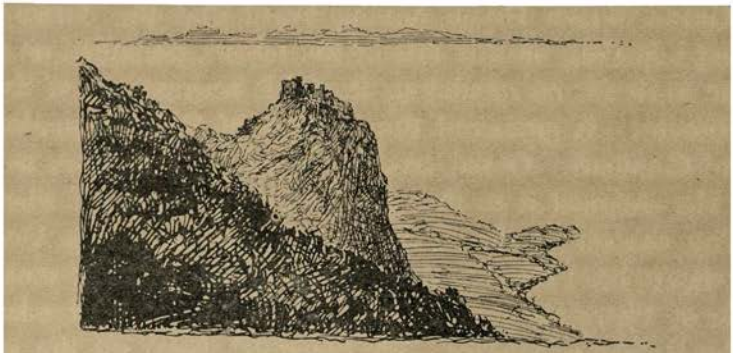

FIG. 177. Castle of Monolithos.

from its proximity to the castle; but what this castle was called by the Knights is not known. Bosio merely says that Grand Master Orsini

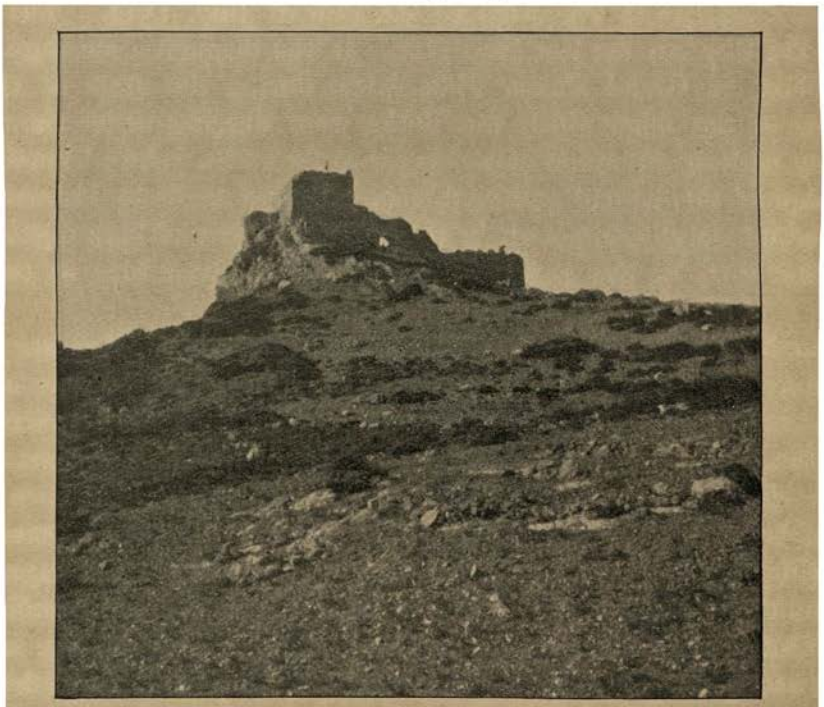

FIG. 178. Castellos Castle.

decided to erect a fortress at his own expense on this side of the island. It may possibly be this one, as his shield is still to be seen on the remains of the large square tower which formed the keep of the castle (Fig. 178).

Perched on a high rock overhanging the shore, it commands a magnificent view of the surrounding country and of the sea. The stone steps that led to its postern are nearly all gone. But if one takes the trouble to climb up to the ruins one finds that the fortress covered a large area. Inside the ruined walls all is chaos. The castle was rectangular in shape. The eastern walls, decorated with the shields of d'Amboise and Carretto, were flanked by two round angle-towers, and on the north side is the large square keep mentioned above. One sees remains of vaulted rooms, of stone stairs and of the cistern; but nowhere could we find traces of the frescoes and paintings described by Biliotti.

There is hardly anything left of the lesser castles. Of Koskeenoo, in the village of that name, part of the wall is to be seen behind the houses built round it.

Archangelos, once of some importance, is a mass of ruins. The Turkish pirates stormed it in 1457 and again in 1503. Then it was repaired and strengthened by the Grand Masters Zacosta, Orsini, and d'Aubusson, whose shields are to be seen on the walls. Archangelos is well known among the Turkish islands for its pottery, and it is supposed to be from there that the Lindos potters got their clay for the earthenware they made at the time of the Knights. This clay possesses the recommendation of not cracking while it is being hardened.

Crumbled walls and stumps of round towers mark the site of the castle of Lardos, which had been granted to Vignolo Vignoli by the Emperor Andronicus II Paleologos long before the Knights took Rhodes. The Vignoli family held it for four generations.

The same may be said about the state of the castles of Asclepios, Fanes, Polona, Siana, Polachia and Catavia. The last-named was strengthened in 1474, but in 1503 it was in so bad a state that Turkish pirates took it without difficulty.

Salakhos had a fairly strong castle, the ruins of which were used up by the Turks at the beginning of the eighteenth century as materials for a mosque which they erected in the valley there.

The plain where now stands the village of Villanova was a favourite resort of the Knights and the rich merchants of the city. The Florentine bankers and merchants had some beautiful gardens there; in fact, the hill behind the village was called Paradise Hill on account of the enchanting view from it. The village was protected by a castle, all the stone of which has now been used for building purposes, so that nothing remains of this fine fortification erected by Grand Master Villeneuve. The only trace of

the Knights to be found at Villanova is the ruin of a small building, seemingly a chapel, near the fountain and resting-place called Koofah. This has curiously been built over a spring where now Greek women assemble to do their washing. We do not understand why this spring should have been covered over unless it had special peculiarities or was kept for the sole use of the Knights. This ruin, which is not mentioned in any work on Rhodes, is very picturesque, but has been much defaced by the smoke of the fires which the washerwomen kindle inside it (Fig. 179).

FIG. 179. Koofah Chapel and Font.

In 1464 the Venetians, who had a grudge against the Order, landed at Villanova, burnt the castle and took away 500 prisoners, male and female. In 1470 the castle, having been repaired, was in excellent order. Nine years later it was much strengthened, and garrisoned in prevision of a Turkish *coup de main.* Yet to-day one cannot even determine its site with certainty.

The village of Cremasto was built round a castle of the same name which is still standing. It is a great square of masonry, inside which are found a few vaulted rooms, but the upper part of the castle has fallen in (Fig. 180).

Carretto either built or repaired it, as his shield, side by side with that of the Order, ornamented its walls till lately, when it was removed to a private garden in the neighbourhood.

The Knights, as we know, had established their domination over the surrounding islands of Halki, Symi, Tilos, Nyssiros, Piscopi, Kos,

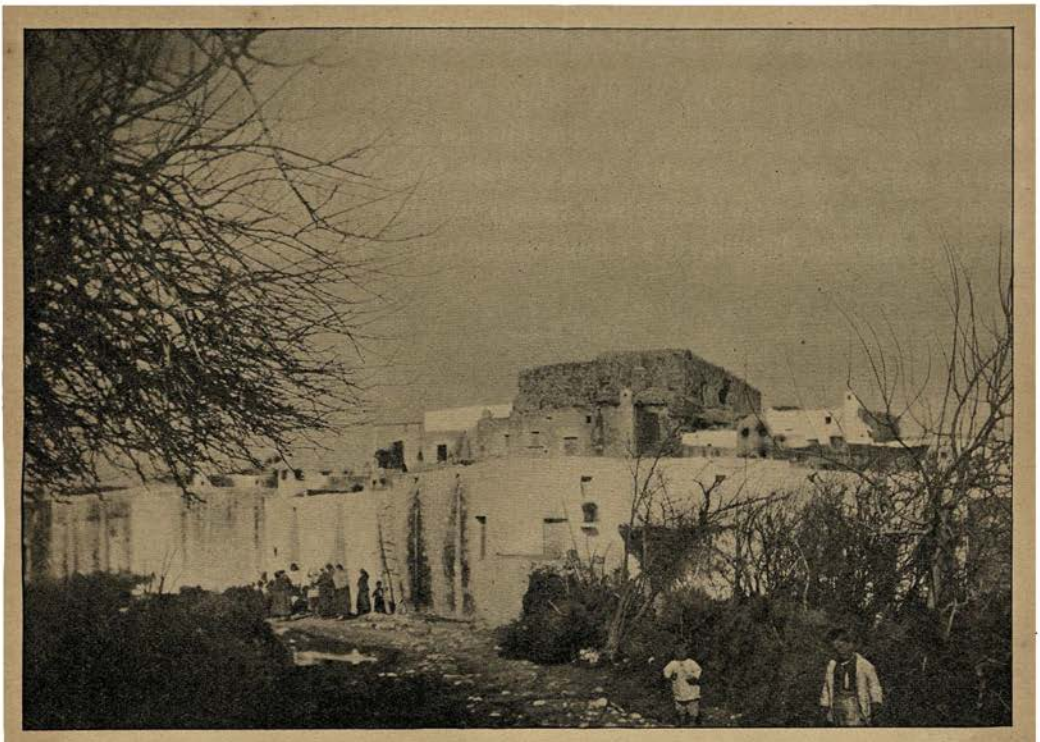

FIG. 180. Cremasto Village and Castle.

Kalymnos, Leros, Limonia and Castellorizo. They possessed fortified castles in each of these, as well as on the mainland at Boodroom, the ancient Halicarnassos, where the Mausoleum furnished stone and marble, and even as far as Smyrna. But to describe these would take us beyond the limits of this work.

XX

PHILEREMOS, SANDROOLEE, ZYMBOOLEE—CONCLUSION

Mount Phileremos, which from a distance is not unlike Table Mountain, was at all times, on account of its fine strategic position, the seat of a fortress (Fig. 181). The ancient Greeks of the town of Yalysos, which lay at its foot, had their acropolis there. After the Greeks, the Lords of Rhodes, holding the island as suzerains of the Byzantine Emperors,

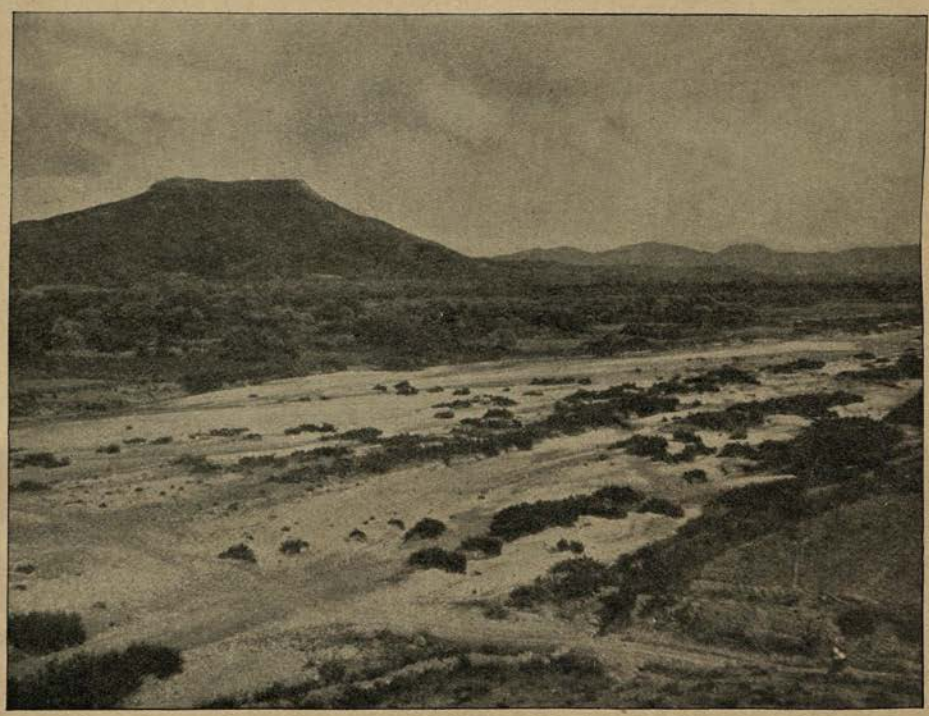

Fig. 181. Phileremos Mount.

fortified it; and when in 1248 the Genoese had surprised the City of Rhodes in the absence of Gabalas, the then Governor, John Cantacuzene, sent by the Emperor, occupied Phileremos, and held it till he was relieved. Two towers, remains of the Byzantine fortress, are still standing at the western end of the plateau (Fig. 182).

On the 9th of November, 1306, the Knights of St. John, who had landed and occupied the fortress of Pheraclos, took Philerémos by surprise, a Greek servant of the Commandant leading them to an unguarded gate, in revenge for a flogging he had received from his master. The Byzantines took refuge in their chapel and were given their lives, but 300 Turkish mercenaries in their pay were all slaughtered. The Knights had their head quarters there for two years before they were able to capture the city of Rhodes. Soon after their occupation of Rhodes the Knights erected a castle on the plateau of Philerémos, and the old Byzantine chapel was

FIG. 182. Byzantine Tower on Philerémos Mount.

replaced by a church, built to hold the miraculous image of Our Lady of Philerémos, which we have no doubt was found in this chapel. We have seen how this eikon was held in veneration by the Knights and all Christians in Rhodes. It was famed for certain pretended miracles, and pilgrims touching at the island on their way to the Holy Land did not fail to pay it a visit. During the great siege of 1522 the Turks had possessed themselves of, and fortified Philerémos, which had been abandoned by the Knights. They even began to build there a kind of palace for their Sultan. The castle is now a mass of ruins, but of the church a small portion, which

looks like a sanctuary or a vestry, still stands. Cattle are kept there by the present owner. The four Gothic arches that form the groined roof spring from four corbels, of which two are decorated with shields of d'Aubusson and two with shields of the Order. This roof is sadly cracked, and will no doubt soon fall in. There are tall, lancet-like Gothic windows, now filled in with dry stonework, and the inside walls are still coated with a hard pink stucco (Figs. 183, 184).

The ground all round the ruined church is strewn with *débris*, amongst which we picked up fragments of cornices and shields and the base of a life-

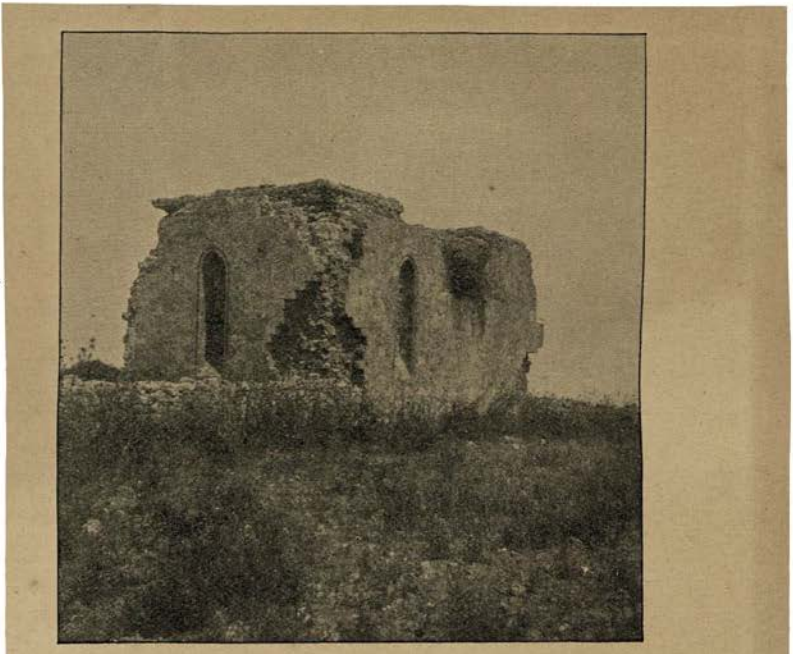

FIG. 183. Remains of Phileremos Church.

size figure in basso-relievo with part of a Gothic inscription, which we were not able to decipher. This is shown on Fig. 2.

About 20 yards west of the ruin is a curious underground chapel, probably the old Byzantine chapel or its crypt. The entrance is hard to find amongst the growth of vegetation. This chapel measures about 30 feet by 10, has a vaulted roof, and is entirely decorated inside with frescoes, of which Rottiers gave a fanciful design and description in his Atlas of Rhodes. These paintings have been wilfully spoilt, and those parts that could not be reached are damaged by damp. It would be quite impossible to give even a tracing of them, but a careful inspection reveals

Biblical scenes, knights in armour, angels, shields, and a large eight-pointed cross of the Order.

What is, however, most interesting is the discovery we made of graffiti; scratched on the dark background of some of the pictures, the graffiti give us the names of numerous visitors and pilgrims to Phileremos. Some bear a date, and we found several English names, such as Bell, de Winton, West, Aleyn, de Akelowe, &c. We took tracings of all that were legible and reproduce them here; not that they have any great historical importance,

FIG. 184. Inside Phileremos Church.

but on account of their amusing quaintness and of the English names. Here again we find the flower rebus symbolical of a name (Figs. 185, 186).

Phileremos is about four miles from the city of Rhodes. As it was a great place of pilgrimage, an excellent road, paved throughout with pebbles, was made thither by the Knights. Long stretches of it still exist and furnish a fine example of road-making 400 years ago. This road passes through Sandroolee ravine, where de Gozon is supposed to have battled with the dragon. The spot is one of enchanting beauty. Over the grotto where the famous monster is supposed to have dwelt, and out of which a plentiful supply of fine water flows at all times, a Turk has built

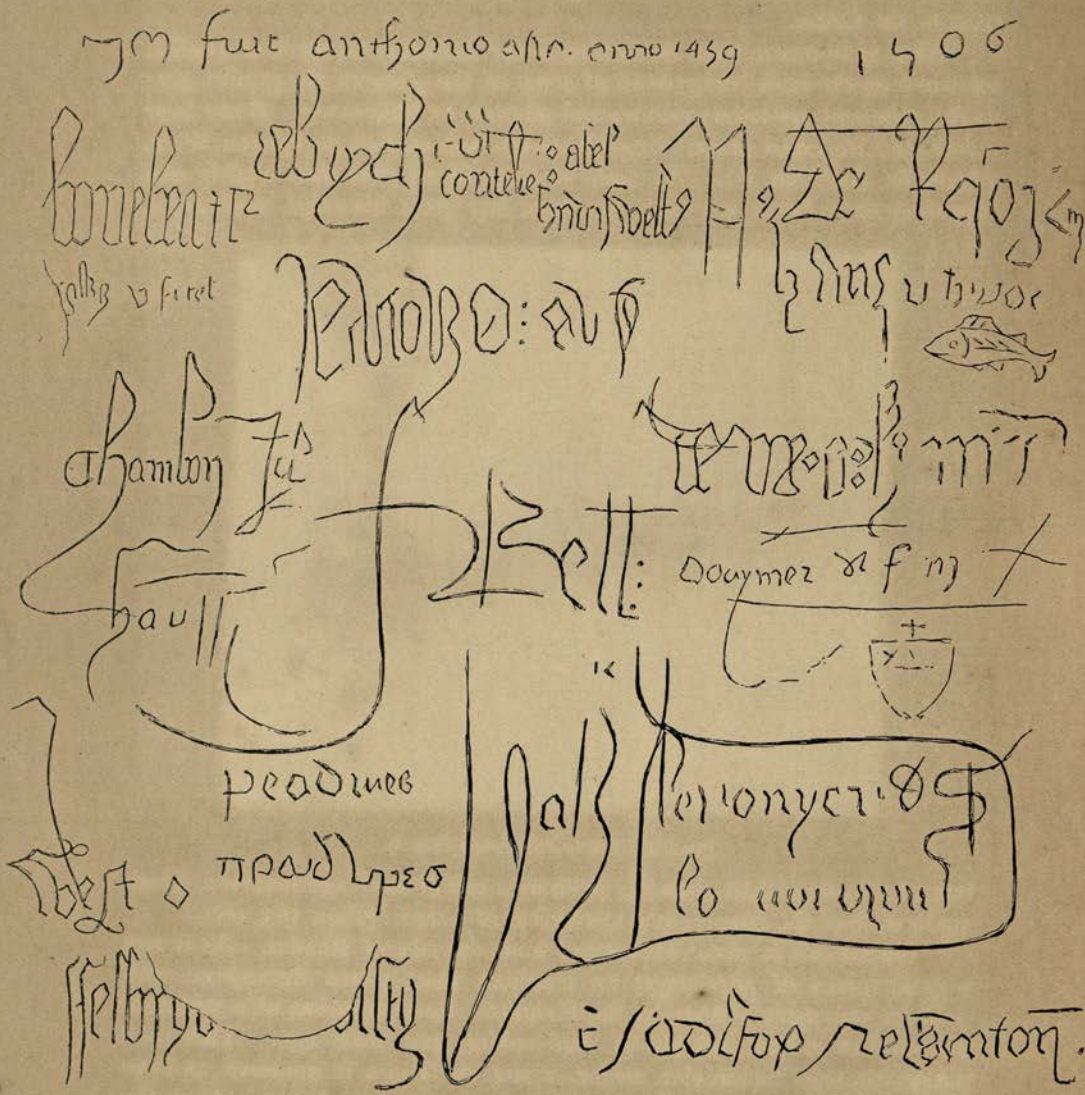

Fig. 185.

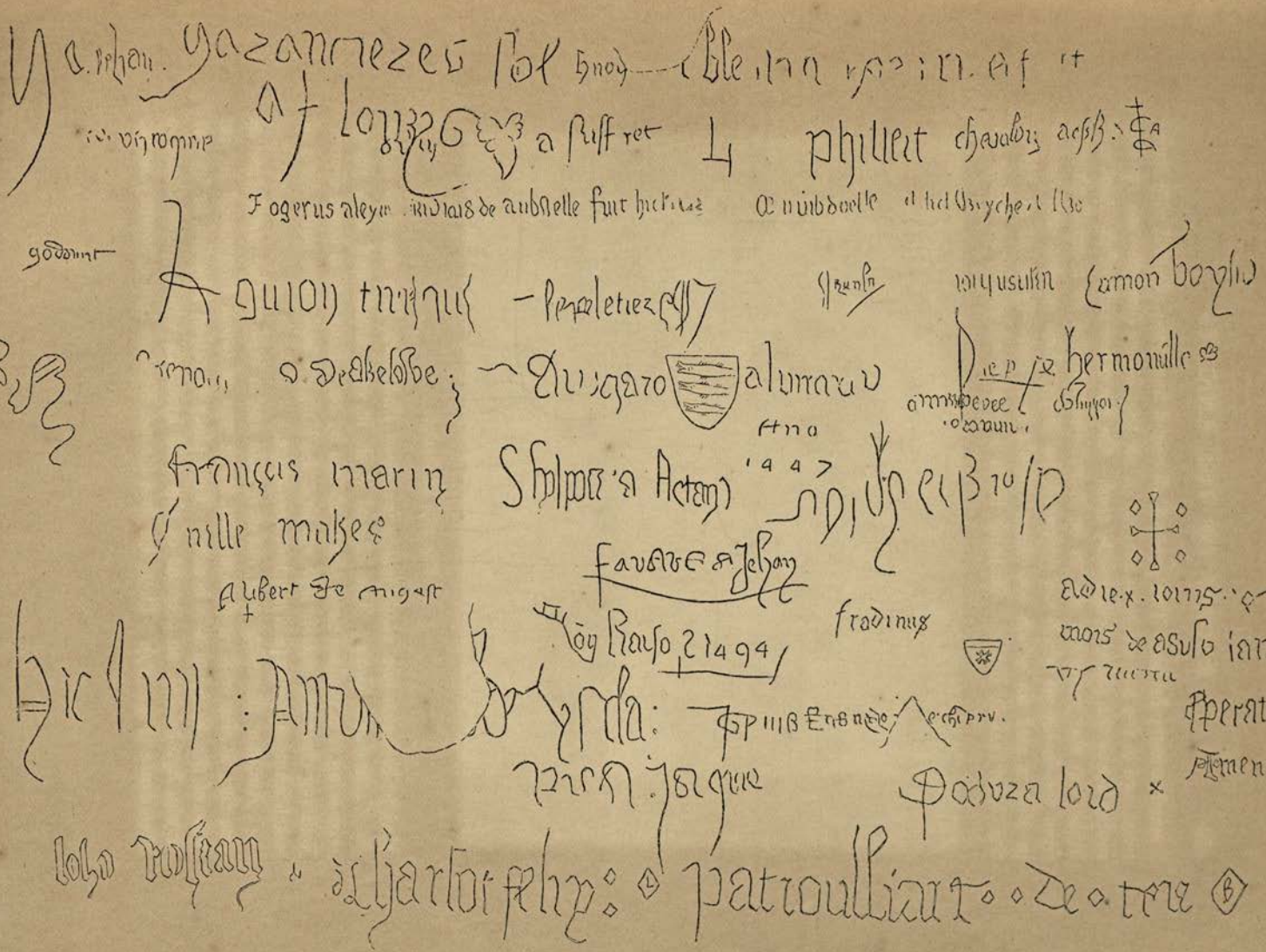

FIG. 186.

a small country house. The ground all round has been planted with fruit-trees, and in the hot season a current of air that blows from the sea up the ravine keeps the place delightfully cool. On the other side of the road and higher up the mountain are to be found the remains of a small chapel, from the inside of which we procured the large white marble slab shown in Fig. 2, and on which are three shields in a row—those of de Milly, the Order and de Lastic. Beneath them is another shield of an unknown

FIG. 187. Zimboolee.

Knight between two sand-glasses inscribed *Palitharo*, like the slab under St. Catherine's Gate. The chapel itself is very small and very plain, consisting of a vaulted nave about 20 feet by 10. Ruins of a large square building close by seem to indicate that the Knights had there some kind of establishment, perhaps a summer residence.

Another charming spot, about a mile and a half to the south-east of the city, is also well worth mention, for it was as much frequented in the time of the Knights as it is now. This place is called Rhodini, or by the Turks Zymboolee, on account of the wild hyacinth which grows there in abundance (Fig. 187). That the first Grand Masters had a country house

here seems probable, as we know that de Villaret, when staying at Rhodini in October, 1317, was nearly caught by the Knights who went there to arrest him in view of his deposition. It must also have been a favourite place of the ancient Greeks, as several fine mosaic pavements, floorings of villas, have lately been brought to light on the top of the hill. Venerable plane-trees, many hundreds of years old, keep the place cool in the hottest days, and excellent water flows from the rock down to the foot of the hill, where a deep ravine, burrowed by the winter rains which rush along it in

FIG. 188. Zimboolee: the Knights' Aqueduct.

torrents, retains even in summer a good deal of moisture, so that its bed is a mass of luxurious vegetation. This torrent is crossed here by a nine-arched aqueduct, evidently a work of the Knights, but replacing an ancient Greek one (Fig. 188).

The city was from all antiquity supplied with water from Asgooroo, about five miles away to the south, through a wonderful network of underground canals, along which one can walk most of the way. But, the roofing having fallen in in several places, they have not been explored throughout their entire length.

And this concludes our description of the Rhodes of the Knights, an island so little known and so little visited. Very few of its modern inhabitants have any idea of the past glory of its capital. The notions of those few are very vague, and not one can give you a correct account of the history and character of its buildings. The noble hosts of these palaces and auberges, the stout soldiers that once paraded its ramparts and narrow streets, left none of their number behind when their knightly colony evacuated its home, and they took away with them their history. Yet there are still to be found in Rhodes several old families of Greeks and Jews that bear names strangely suggestive of the Hospitallers. Such are, among others, Danjou, Delaporte, and Castriccio. Of the origin of their names they know nothing. Possibly they descend from illegitimate children of the Knights, or from some of their servants who took or were known by the names of their masters, much as was the case with slaves of the early French settlers in South Africa—the de Villiers, the Dutoits and the like, most of whom are persons of colour.

Ask the Turks what Rhodes was previously, and they can tell you nothing. They found empty houses, they settled into them without ceremony, even forgetting to remove from the walls the crosses which seem to brave them still. How glad we are now of this indifference! To it we owe the singular preservation of this glorious city.

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